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SOME PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM AND THEIR
APPLICATION TO THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

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SOME PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM AND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

ERNEST DEWITT BURTON

EVER since the days of Augustine and Jerome, not to say earlier, the mutual resemblances of the first three gospels have been observed, and the problem thus created for the biblical scholar has been discussed. Since 1794, when Eichhorn proposed his theory accounting for the resemblances and divergences of the synoptic gospels by deriving them all from a common document existing in various recensions, the question has been vigorously discussed, and almost numberless theories have been proposed for its solution.

It may be doubted, however, whether amid the multitude of these theories sufficient thought has been given to the formulation of the principles in accordance with which any solution of the problem must of necessity proceed. In textual criticism this phase of the matter has received most earnest attention, and principles have been formulated in respect to which there is general, even if not universal, agreement among textual critics. There seems to be no good reason why a course should not be pursued, in the matter of the relation of our present synoptic gospels to one another, similar to that which has been so efficient in promoting the solution of the problem of the interrelation of the manuscripts of these gospels and of the other New Testament books.

Indeed, the work done in formulating the task of textual criticism may well furnish the starting-point for the effort to formulate corresponding principles applicable to the problem of the relation of the gospels to one another, if not also the framework for a provisional statement of such principles. For, in fact, the relation of our several synoptic gospels to one another, and to the documents or traditions which may have lain behind them, is closely analogous to the relation of the several manuscripts (or other witnesses to the text) of any New Testament book to one another, and to the manuscripts which in this case undoubtedly constituted the sources from which our existing manuscripts were produced. The analogy, of course, must not be pressed where it does not hold. The methods of scribes and editors, though similar, are not identical. The analogy must serve mainly to suggest principles whose validity shall afterward be tested by their applicability to the actual conditions of the class of problems to which the synoptic problem belongs. But so used it seems likely to lead to valuable results.

The principles so reached would, if valid, be applicable not solely to the synoptic problem; for this problem is simply a specific instance of the general problem with which the historian always has to deal when he finds among his sources documents which, though similar, are nevertheless not duplicates. Bernheim has discussed this

problem with special reference to the sources for mediæval history in his work, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 272-99, and the conclusions which he reaches, if sound, are applicable in general to the whole class of cases in which there exist documents which are similar without being identical, and so in particular to the synoptic problem.

If, then, we avail ourselves of the work already done in textual criticism and in the study of the use of sources in historical work in general, continually checking the suggestions derived from these sources by unquestioned facts, we ought to arrive at certain principles on the basis of which it would be possible to move with some degree of firmness and certainty to an assured solution of the synoptic problem. The aim of this paper is not to review the history of the efforts to solve the problem of the synoptic gospels, or to examine any of the solutions that have been proposed, but, first, to formulate principles applicable to such problems; secondly, to state the main facts respecting the relation of the synoptic gospels to one another; and, thirdly, to indicate the conclusions to which the correlation of these principles and facts seems to lead.

I. PRINCIPLES APPLICABLE TO THE SOLUTION OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

1. As between some sort of literary relationship and total independence from a literary point of view, the decision is to be based upon the extent and nature of the resemblance of documents to one another. Between the two extremes, represented on the one side by two manuscripts or printed papers word for word identical throughout, and on the other side by two manuscripts or printed works having nothing in common save that they are written in the same language, all grades and degrees of resemblance are possible. In the former case, relation between documents ceases to exist because there are not two documents, but two exemplars of the same document. In the latter extreme, relationship vanishes because of total diversity. Between these extremes there may exist, for example, the case of two documents which, resembling one another, but not to the extent of identity, owe their resemblance to the fact that two authors wholly independently give an account of the same general event. In this case the two narratives traced to their origin meet, not in any common literary ancestor, but only in the event narrated. Again, two documents may resemble one another by reason of the fact that behind both of them there lies a literary work by which both have been influenced. This literary work may be a speech to which both have listened, a writing which both have read and which they reproduce from memory, or a writing from which both transcribe with more or less freedom of reproduction. From the point of view of the principle we are now endeavoring to state, these differences do not come into account. The question is simply this: When we trace the lines of heredity of the two writings, similar but not identical, to that which accounts for their similarity, is this common source something which had already assumed literary form, or an event or group of facts which each writer was endeavoring in his own way to record? This fundamental question must, as has been stated, be solved by the extent and nature of

the resemblances. How great a degree of resemblance will compel the supposition of a common literary ancestor, how great a degree of divergence would exclude this supposition, can be determined only by experience and observation. It is important, if possible, that such observation should pertain to writings the nature of whose relationship is known, and which come from a period not too remote from that to which the writings belong whose relationship we are endeavoring to determine.

2. It being determined that the relation of the documents in question is literary in its character, the decision between documentary and oral relationship—that is, a relationship mediated by written documents and one mediated by oral report or tradition—must likewise rest upon the nature and extent of the resemblance, account being taken of order of paragraphs or other like divisions, content of narrative, and verbal agreement.

The extent and character of the resemblances which would be produced respectively by oral tradition and documentary relationship must be judged, as respects the synoptic gospels, not by modern custom, but by the usage of the times from which these books come. It must be recognized that among the ancient Jews greater resemblance might be produced by oral relationship than is usual in such cases today, and that greater variation would usually appear in the case of documentary relation than would usually occur now. It is obviously impossible to determine with accuracy to what extent a written reproduction of an oral tradition would differ from this tradition itself, since by the nature of the case the original is not in existence, and cannot therefore be compared with the transcription of it. Only in case we possessed two writings, both vouched for as independent attempts to reproduce what had previously existed only orally, could we by actual test determine how great a degree of resemblance and diversity would be produced by such independent reproduction of oral material.

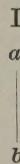
On the other hand, the degree of diversity between the source of a document and the document itself, that source being in written form, can be more accurately determined, since instances exist in which both the source and the derivative document are still extant. In the case of the synoptic gospels we have several very valuable bases of judgment upon this point, concerning which something will be said in a later paragraph. See II, 8, p. 20.

3. It being determined that there is between two or more extant documents a literary relationship of a documentary character, the general principle for determining the direction of descent—that is, which of the documents is antecedent to the others—is, that that one is to be accepted as, relatively speaking, the original which will explain the origin of the others, but cannot itself be explained as the product of the others.

In dealing with our synoptic gospels it must, however, be borne in mind that the order of dependence is not necessarily the same throughout the whole extent of the books. In textual criticism we are wont to recognize four parts of the New Testament which are, as respects their textual history, to a considerable degree independent. These four are: the Gospels, the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the Pauline Epistles, and the

Apocalypse. In like manner it must be recognized as possible that in the history of the gospels which lies back of the textual history, strictly so called, the several portions of the synoptic material may have had a measurably independent history. There may, for example, have been separate narratives of the infancy, the ministry of John, the Galilean ministry of Jesus, the Perean ministry, the passion and resurrection history. If so, it is possible that our present gospels sustain different relations to one another in these different parts.

4. When the documents or portions of documents are two in number, and the previously indicated tests have led to the conclusion that they sustain a literary relation to one another, if the influence of sources no longer extant be excluded from consideration, there remains evidently but one possibility, viz., that one of the documents is derived from the other. This may be represented by the diagram:



Which of the two documents is primary, and which is dependent upon the other, must be decided on the basis of the evidence as to which contains features of a secondary character. The following may be regarded as evidences of such secondary character:

other words
1 (1) manifest misunderstanding of what stands in one document on the part of the writer of the other; (2) insertion by one writer of material not in the other, and clearly interrupting the course of thought or symmetry of plan in the other; (3) clear omission from one document of matter which was in the other, the omission of which destroys the connection; (4) insertion of matter the motive for which can be clearly seen in the light of the author's general aim, while no motive can be discovered for its omission by the other author if he had had it in his source; (5) vice versa, omission of matter traceable to the motive natural to the writer when the insertion could not thus be accounted for; (6) alterations of other kinds which conform the matter to the general method or tendency of the author.

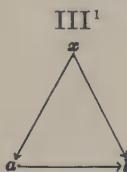
*anything g
dicate of 1
the word
another
= taken as
indication
secondary &
second hand!*
In textual criticism it is regarded as a general, but not invariable, rule that the longer reading is the later. It cannot be assumed that this rule holds also in our present field until the usage of compilers in that period has been somewhat more carefully studied. Concerning the light which Tatian's Diatessaron throws upon the question, a word will be said below. The tendency of a particular writer, if it can be determined, would in any case be the safest criterion; but one must, of course, be on his guard against reasoning in a vicious circle in such a case.

*yet the
almost
way ab
evident
mark.*
5. But the possibility that the similarity of two documents is, in fact, due to the influence of non-extant sources must also be taken into account. And this fact adds to the possible relationships, indicated above, still other possibilities which for con-

venience we number consecutively with those already named. Thus *a* and *b* may be independently derived from a common oral tradition, or a common lost document, as represented in the following diagram:



or *a* may be derived from a lost document or from oral tradition, and *b* may be derived from this non-extant source and *a*, it being remembered that *a* may represent either document, *b* denoting the other. This may be represented in a diagram thus:



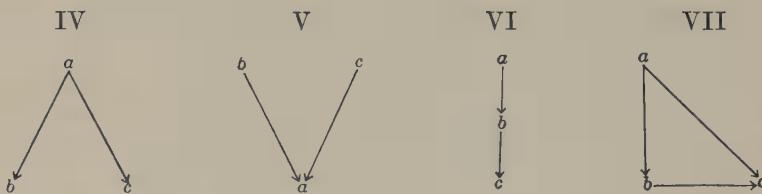
The distinguishing of these several cases from one another and from cases I and II must evidently be accomplished by the application of the tests for secondary character, as indicated above. Thus in case II the marks of secondary character may be expected to appear now in *a*, now in *b*, without clear evidence of originality in either throughout. Whether the documents in hand be related through common oral tradition or a written document would be determined by the nature of the resemblance—whether it approximated that which we actually find in documents known to be derived from extant sources, with which therefore they can be compared, or whether there is a freedom of reproduction which seems to exclude written sources. In case III the document which drew from its companion, as well as from the source lying back of both, would be expected to show stronger marks of secondary character than the others. But since the derivative document might in some cases displace the secondary readings of its companion and restore those of the common source, and since in case II one document might depart more freely from the original than the other, mere preponderance of marks of secondary character would not enable us either to identify the documents under case III, or to distinguish case III from case II. Only when either *a* or *b* should show clear indications of having combined two readings, one of which was found in the other extant document, and the other of which was clearly related to it as its source, would it be possible with any confidence to determine which of the several relations covered by cases II and III was the true one.

¹Case III can evidently be resolved into four cases, according as the non-extant source is oral or written, and according as *a* or *b* is the middle term between the non-extant source and the other existing document. Still other cases might also arise through the use of more than one

non-extant source. It would, however, contribute not to clearness, but to confusion, to enumerate under separate notation all possible variations of relation. It must suffice to represent classes of cases.

The problem presented by this group of cases is then to be solved, as far as it is soluble, by the tests for direction of descent, with some possible help from evidence of conflation.

6. When the related documents are three in number, various relations are possible. If for the present those be excluded that involve the hypothesis of a non-extant source, oral or documentary, the possibilities may be most simply indicated by diagrams as follows:



That is, *b* and *c* may be derived from *a*; *a* may be derived from *b* and *c*; *b* may be derived from *a*, and *c* from *b*; *b* may be derived from *a*, and *c* from *a* and *b*. But it must also be noted, as in the previous examples, that diagrams IV, V, VI, and VII each represent several possibilities. Thus, to apply the diagrams to the problem of the gospels, diagram IV may represent the derivation of Mark and Luke from Matt., or of Matt. and Luke from Mark, or of Matt. and Mark from Luke. The case is similar also in respect to each of the other diagrams; so that, in fact, they represent eighteen possibilities.

It is obvious that all the tests indicated in 4 above can be applied also in the present group of cases for the purpose of identifying the documents. Thus, if one of the documents constantly shows marks of originality as compared with each of the other two, and these two bear the signs of secondary character as compared with it, these facts would be consistent with the solution suggested in diagram IV, the document first mentioned occupying the position *a*; and, if not modified by other facts, would point to this as the solution of the problem. If, however, to such a constant originality of *a* there be added also an originality of *b*, as compared with *c*, this would suggest a diagram of the form VI, with the order, *a*—*b*—*c*. It is unnecessary to follow out this phase of the problem in detail. An attentive inspection of the diagrams will suggest the various ways of applying to the problems of three documents the tests which are applicable also to two documents.

It is of more significance to observe that the possession of three related documents enables us to apply a more objective test than is possible when the documents are but two in number.

Thus if two of the documents, say *b* and *c*, are so entirely distinct from one another as to suggest no interdependence, while the third, *a*, is a combination of elements drawn from *b* and *c*, such evidence will clearly point to hypothesis V as against any of the other hypotheses enumerated. For under any other there would certainly

be material common to b and c as well as to a and b and to a and c . Of the eighteen possibilities seventeen are thus excluded by a definite objective test.

If, on the other hand, a and b sometimes agree against c , a and c sometimes agree against b , and b and c sometimes agree against a , and if all these three forms of binary agreement occur with approximately equal frequency, this fact will make strongly for some form of hypothesis VII as against any of the others named above, since it alone furnishes the conditions under which any two of the three documents may agree against the third. In such case the eighteen possibilities are by a definite objective test reduced to four. An occurrence of all three forms of binary agreement might indeed arise under a modified form of hypothesis V, viz., if b and c , from which a is derived, themselves have a common source x . But in this case we either have four documents, or are no longer dealing with cases which exclude the influence of a non-extant source and have passed into a new group, to be considered below.

For the further recognition of cases falling under hypothesis VII (or V in its modified form), and for the identification of the documents, *i.e.*, for determining which is the derivative document, there is again an objective test, long ago pointed out as valuable in textual criticism. Thus, if one document is based on two others, it may reasonably be expected that the compiler will sometimes combine the statements of his two authorities, producing what is known as conflation. This, of course, will not occur when the two are separately derived from one, though the appearance of it might arise if the two derivative documents should by chance divide between them a phrase or sentence of the source. A classic example of real or apparent conflation in the gospels is Mark 1:32, $\delta\psi\imath\as$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$, $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu\sigma\sigma\epsilon\eta$ δ $\eta\lambda\imath\varsigma$; Matt. reading at the corresponding point, 8:16, $\delta\psi\imath\as$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$, and Luke, 4:40, $\delta\nu\sigma\sigma\tau\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\sigma\eta\eta\imath\varsigma$. Now, if one of the three documents under consideration should exhibit numerous and clear cases of conflation, this would be practical demonstration of its derivation from the other two, *i.e.*, that it is c in diagram VII (or a in V). To the test of conflation may, of course, also be added those for direction of descent as set forth under 5.

If, once more, two of the three documents, let us say a and b , often agree against c , and a and c often agree against b , but b and c , while having much matter in common with one another and with a , never agree against a , it is certain that a is in some sense the middle term between b and c , and we are pointed to hypothesis IV or VI: to IV in the form indicated in the diagram, or to VI in the form $b—a—c$ or $c—a—b$. Hypothesis V is excluded by the existence of material common to b and c . Hypothesis VII is excluded by the fact that the connection of b with c makes all three forms of binary combination possible and probable.² Thus again by an objective test, based not upon

²This general statement requires modification only by the recognition of the fact that a writer in the position indicated by c in diagram VII might conceivably depart from either or both of his sources, when they were not in agreement, but avoid departing from them in that to which they bore concurrent testimony, and thus might create a situation under VII very similar to that which we

have interpreted as pointing to IV or VI. The recognition of this possibility would increase the uneliminated possibilities from three to five, and require the application of other tests, as, *e.g.*, of conflation, for determining whether the case really fell under VII on the one hand, or IV or VI on the other.

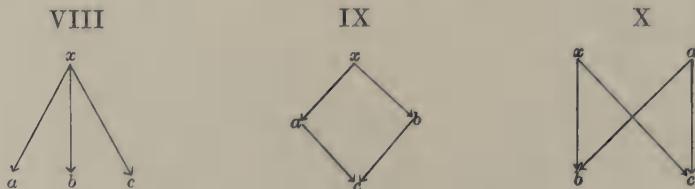
delicate consideration of the kind of changes that a first century author would probable be disposed to make, but upon the obvious fact that of the three possible kinds of binary combination two are frequent, while instances of the third are lacking, it is possible to exclude fifteen of the eighteen possibilities, and reduce the problem to discovering which of the remaining three we actually have in hand. If, instead of an entire absence of the third form of binary agreement, there are of this form only such instances as may be reasonably ascribed to the coincident action of a common motive affecting two of the authors, say *b* and *c*, and leading them to make the same change in their source *a*, such a situation would point strongly to hypothesis IV, and at the same time indicate which of the three documents was the source of the other two.

The problem of distinguishing between case IV on the one side, and any possible form of VI on the other, is less simple. It can be solved, generally speaking, by adding to the tests applicable to three documents those for direction of descent applicable to two documents. Thus, if by the former test *a* has been shown to be the middle term between the other two, a probable verdict on the question whether we have case IV or a form of VI may be reached by observing which of the documents shows marks of secondary character as compared with the others. Thus, if these marks of secondary character appear in both *b* and *c*, as compared with *a*, this would point to IV. If they appear in *a* as compared with *b*, and in *c* as compared with *a*, this would point to VI in the form *b*—*a*—*c*. If they appear in *a* as compared with *c*, and in *b* as compared with *a*, this would suggest VI in the form *c*—*a*—*b*.

To discuss in further detail all the problems suggested by the hypotheses named is unnecessary. The methods employed will be similar to those already suggested.

The problem of three related documents, non-extant sources excluded, is then to be solved by the application of the principle that two documents derived from a third will each agree with that source, but not with one another against the source, supplemented by the tests for direction of descent, and the possible evidence of conflation.

7. Thus far in discussing the problem of three documents we have ignored the possibility that sources no longer extant have entered in as factors of the process from which the three existing documents resulted. But this possibility must, of course, be



taken into account. To represent or enumerate all the many ways in which a non-extant document or documents might have contributed to the existing result is neither expedient nor necessary. It will suffice to consider a few of the many possible cases. In case VIII the three extant documents are produced directly from a non-extant

source. In case IX, *a* is derived from the non-extant document *x*, *b* from *x* ~~and~~ ^{also} *a*, and *c* from *a* and *b*. In case X, *b* and *c* are each derived from a non-extant document and the extant document *a*. In case VIII all three classes of binary combinations would appear as in case VII, and this case (VIII) can be distinguished from VII by the fact that the marks of secondary character appear in all three documents with approximately equal frequency. In case X there would be material common to *a*, *b*, and *c*, but also material common to *b* and *c* not found in *a*. In the former *a* and *b* would sometimes agree against *c*, and *a* and *c* against *b*, but agreements of *b* and *c* against *a* would not occur, or would be rare and easily explicable. Marks of secondary character would appear in *b* and *c*, but not in *a*. In case IX there would be material common to *a* and *b*, but probably also material peculiar to each, and the marks of secondary character in material common to them would sometimes appear in *a*, sometimes in *b*. All three forms of binary combination would be possible, but, perhaps as in case VII, agreements of *a* and *b* against *c* would be less frequent than either of the other forms, since the former could arise only through *c* departing from both its sources when these were in agreement; *c* would be likely to bear the marks of secondary character now in reference to *a*, now in reference to *b*, and very likely show conflation of *a* and *b*. Total absence of such conflation, or the total disregard of material found in *a* or *b* and germane to the purpose of *c*, especially of material common to *a* and *b* (hence in both the sources of *c*) and likewise germane to the purpose of *c*, would make against this hypothesis, and suggest some form of X, or some other theory not included in our brief illustrative list.

The methods applicable to this group of cases are therefore in general those indicated under the preceding section. But the possible relations are indefinite in number, and the particular method to be employed will vary with every practical case.

8. Account must also be taken of the fact that the significance of agreement or disagreement may be quite different according as it pertains to matter *en bloc* or to details of threefold narrative. Thus, if in threefold narrative documents *a* and *b* often agree against *c*, and *a* and *c* often agree against *b*, while *b* and *c* never agree against *a*, there is a strong probability that *b* and *c* are derived from *a*. But if in the same documents *b* and *c* agree—it may be exactly—in whole paragraphs not found in *a*, this does not overthrow the conclusion previously reached, but rather points to the possession by *b* and *c* of a source additional to *a*. In other words, if to agreements of *a* and *b* against *c*, and of *a* and *c* against *b*, there be added agreements of *b* and *c* against *a* in details of threefold narrative, this points to hypothesis VII or VIII. But if this latter agreement, *b* and *c* against *a*, be not in details, but only through the addition of matter *en bloc*, X is the hypothesis indicated.

9. It must also be evident that an agreement in omission is of quite different significance from an agreement in addition. Thus in threefold material the common possession by two documents of any considerable amount of material not found in the third either shows that that third was not, at least in its extant form, the source of the

other two (excludes IV), or necessitates the supposition of an additional common source (X). But the same amount of agreement in omission, or even a much larger amount, might, if the evidence were otherwise clearly in favor of regarding the third document as the source of the other two (as in IV), be explicable as due to coincidence or the influence of the same motive upon two minds. The same principle would hold respecting larger portions of material, except that the agreement of two documents against the third in the common possession of paragraphs or sections capable of independent transmission more obviously than in the other case suggests an additional source. In brief, two writers might both have the same reason or different reasons for omitting matter found in a third; but the addition of matter verbally the same and of any considerable extent, whether of phrases in a threefold text, or of entire paragraphs or sections, would require some other explanation.

To these principles, based on the relations of documents, may be added another, respecting the value of ancient testimony, too obvious to require defense, but worthy to be borne in mind.

10. Tradition cannot control the clear evidence of the documents themselves. But a theory which accords with ancient tradition, especially uncontradicted tradition, is more probable, other things being equal, than one which contradicts tradition. Of very special significance is the testimony of an author himself respecting the sources used by him or at his command. Such testimony can be set aside only when contradicted by clear internal evidence. The most probable theory is that which conforms alike to the internal evidence of the documents, to the testimony of the author, if such testimony exists, and to ancient tradition.

II. FACTS RESPECTING THE RELATION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS TO ONE ANOTHER, AND THE BEARING OF THESE FACTS ON POSSIBLE THEORIES

To exhibit in detail all the facts respecting the relation of the synoptic gospels to one another would require the printing of the Greek text of these gospels in parallel columns, together with some device for indicating to the eye the extent and nature of their parallelism. Several attempts have been made to do this,³ none of them wholly successful. It is not the purpose of this essay thus to show the details, but to state those general facts which a careful and detailed comparison of the gospels discloses, and which, in the author's judgment, point the way to a solution of the problem of their mutual relation.

1. It needs barely be mentioned that the synoptic gospels differ one from another to such an extent as to make them clearly not exemplars of the same work, but different, and to a certain extent independent, works.

2. There is in these synoptic gospels, on the other hand, a large amount of similar material—a large number of sections which appear in two or in all three of the gospels in closely similar form. In any numerical statement of the facts at this point there

³ See RUSHBROOKE, *Synopticon*; WRIGHT, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*; HUCK, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*; HEINEKE, *Synopse der drei ersten kanonischen Evangelien*; VEIT, *Die synoptischen Parallelen*, Vol. I.

must be a certain element of arbitrariness, since the length of a section is to a certain extent a matter of personal judgment. General facts, however, will appear in the following statements: In the table appended to this essay there are 120 sections. In 49 sections there are three accounts so closely resembling one another as to indicate some kind of literary relationship. In 1 section (64) there are three accounts, but the Luke account is quite independent of the other two. In 15 sections closely parallel accounts are found in Matt. and Mark; in the case of four of these Luke has an independent but more or less similar account, usually differently located. In 5 sections parallel accounts are found in Mark and Luke (this number including three in which the Mark passage is in 16:9-20). In 5 sections parallel accounts are found in Matt. and Luke, if in this list we may include the genealogies. In 6 Matt. is the only source; in 1 Mark is the only source; in 37 Luke is the only source, including the four independent accounts mentioned above. In 1 Luke (13:18-21) contains material found also in Matt. in a threefold section.

3. In a large proportion of these cases the resemblance between the parallel accounts is very close, extending to ideas, words, order of words, and even to the insertion of parenthetical clauses. One or two examples will suffice to show the character of this resemblance.

MATT. 3:7-10

Ίδων δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς
Γεννήματα ἔχοντα, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν
φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;
ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξειν τῆς μετανοίας.
καὶ μὴ δάσητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
Πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι
δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων
ἔγειραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ. ἥδη δὲ
ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται.
πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν
ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.

MATT. 9:14-17

τότε προσέρχονται αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ
ταῦτα Ιωάνου λέγοντες
Διὰ τί ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι
νηστεύομεν,
οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ σου οὐ νηστεύου-
σιν;

MARK 2:18-22

Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ιωάνου καὶ
οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύοντες.
Διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ Ιωάνου καὶ οἱ
μαθηταὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων νηστεύ-
ονται,
οἱ δὲ σοὶ [μαθηταὶ] οὐ νηστεύου-
σιν;

LUKE 5:33-39

οἱ δὲ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτὸν
Οἱ μαθηταὶ Ιωάνου νηστεύονται
πυκνὰ καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται,
ὅμοιως καὶ οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων
οἱ δὲ σοὶ ἐσθίονται καὶ πίνονται.

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
Μὴ δύνανται οἱ νιὸι τοῦ νυμφῶνος
(πενθεῖν ἐφ' ὅσον) μετ' αὐτῶν
ἔστιν ὁ νυμφίος;

ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ
ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, (καὶ) τότε
νηστεύσουσιν.

οὐδὲν δὲ ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα
ράκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ιματίῳ
παλαιῷ.

αἴρει (γὰρ) τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ
τοῦ ιματίου, καὶ χείρον σχίσμα
γίνεται.

οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσ-
κοὺς παλαιούς.

εἰ δὲ μήγε, ῥηγνύνται οἱ ἀσκοί,

καὶ ὁ οἶνος (έκχειται) καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ
ἀπόλλυνται.

ἀλλὰ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς
ἀσκοὺς καινούς,

καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται

Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
Μὴ δύνανται οἱ νιὸι τοῦ νυμφῶνος
ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστιν
νηστεύειν;

ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον
μετ' αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν δύνανται νηστεύειν.
ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ
ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, (καὶ) τότε
νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ.

οὐδὲν δὲ ἐπίβλημα ράκους ἀγνάφου
(ἐπιράπτει) ἐπὶ ιματίου παλαιού.

εἰ δὲ μή,
αἴρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ
καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ, καὶ χείρον
σχίσμα γίνεται.

καὶ οὐδὲν βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς
ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς.

εἰ δὲ μή, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσ-
κούς,

καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσ-
κοί.

[ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς και-
νούς]

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς
Μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς νιὸις τοῦ νυμ-
φῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐ-
τῶν ἔστιν ποιῆσαι νηστεύσαι;

ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι, καὶ ὅταν
ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος
τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείναις
ταῖς ἡμέραις.

*Ἐλεγεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν πρὸς
αὐτούς ὅτι

Οὐδὲν ἐπίβλημα (ἀπὸ ιματίου
καινοῦ σχίσας) ἐπιβάλλει ἐπὶ^{τούς} ιματίου παλαιού.

εἰ δὲ μήγε,
καὶ τὸ καινὸν σχίσει καὶ τῷ πα-
λαιῷ οὐδὲν συμφωνήσει τὸ ἐπί-
βλημα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ καινοῦ.

καὶ οὐδὲν βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς
ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς.

εἰ δὲ μήγε, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος (ὁ νέος)
τοὺς ἀσκούς,

καὶ (αὐτὸς) ἔκχυθήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἀσ-
κοὶ ἀπολοῦνται

ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινούς
βλητέον.

[Οὐδὲν πιὼν παλαιὸν θέλει νέον.
λέγει γὰρ Ὁ παλαιὸς χρηστός
ἔστιν.]

The first of these examples shows this resemblance at its greatest. Of the sixty-three consecutive words in Matt. beginning with *γεννήματα* and ending with *βάλλεται*, sixty are found in Luke in the same order; for *καρπὸν ἄξιον* Luke has *καρπὸς ἄξιος*, for *δόξητε* he has *ἀρξθε*, and after *ἡδη δέ* he adds *καὶ*; for *καλόν* in Luke the evidence is not quite conclusive. In the second example the resemblance, especially between Matt. and the other accounts, is less close, yet still very striking. The student of the subject does not need to be told that instances of similarly close parallelism are very numerous. They may be studied in any Greek harmony of the gospels, especially Rushbrooke, Huck, or Wright. The resemblance is at many points closer than is ordinarily found between the quotations of the New Testament writers and their Old Testament source, and closely resembles that which exists between Tatian and his sources, the latter, of course, well known to be written and in our possession (see under 8).

4. In order to observe more closely the facts respecting the relation of the synoptic gospels, the contents of these gospels may be classified into seven classes (somewhat after the manner of the canons of Eusebius), according as they are (a) threefold, being found in all three gospels; (b) twofold, being common to Matt. and Mark; (c) twofold, being common to Mark and Luke; (d) twofold, being common to Matt. and Luke; (e) peculiar to Matt., i. e., omitted by Mark and Luke; (f) peculiar to Mark, i. e., omitted by Matt. and Luke; (g) peculiar to Luke, i. e., omitted by Matt. and Mark. This classification may be applied first to the material *en bloc*—i. e., to sections, paragraphs, or portions of paragraphs—such that they might not improbably be transmitted independently;⁴ and secondly to the several portions, even to single words or terminations, of what in the previous classification is reckoned as threefold narrative.⁵

The general facts regarding the agreement of the synoptic gospels in respect to whole sections, or paragraphs, or considerable portions of paragraphs are as follows:⁶

a. The threefold material consists of the following passages of Mark with the parallel passages in the other gospels: 1:2-4, 7-15, 29-34, 39-45; 2:1-3:12; 3:16-19; 3:22-4:25; 4:30-32; 4:35-5:43; 6:6b-16, 30-44; 8:27-9:8; 9:14-37, 42; 10:13-34, 46-52; 11:1-11, 15-19, 27-33; 12:1-39; 13:1-20, 24-32; 14:1, 2, 10-25, 29-50, 53-72; 15:1-15, 21-47; 16:1-8.

b. Mark and Matt. agree in including the following passages not in Luke: Mark 1:5, 6, 16-20; 4:33, 34; 6:1-6a, 17-29; 6:45-7:31; 8:1-21; 9:9-13, 43-48; 10:1-12, 35-45; 11:12-14, 20-25; 13:20-23; 14:3-9, 26-28; 15:16-20 = Matt. 3:4-6; 4:18-22, 24, 25; 5:29, 30; 9:35, 36; 13:34, 54-58; 14:3-12, 22-27; 14:32-15:11; 15:15-16:11; 17:9-13; 18:8, 9; 19:1-9; 20:20-28; 21:18-22; 24:23-25; 26:6-13, 30-32; 27:27-31.

c. Mark and Luke agree in including the following not in Matt.: Mark 1:21-28, 35-38; 3:13-15; 9:38-41; 12:40-44 = Luke 4:31-37, 42, 43; 6:12, 13; 9:49, 50; 20:47-21:4.

d. Matt. and Luke agree in including the following matter not in Mark: Matt. 3:7-10, 12; 4:3-11; 5:1-3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 25, 26, 32, 39-42, 44-48; 6:8-13, 19-33; 7:1-5, 7-12, 16-27;⁷ 8:5-13, 18-22; 9:37, 38; 10:15, 16, 24-40; 11:2-19, 21-27; 12: 27, 28, 30, 33-35, 38-45; 13:16, 17, 33; 18:12-15, 21, 22; 23:4, 12, 13, 23-39; 24:26-28, 37-51; 25:24-29 = Luke 3:7-9, 17; 4:3-13; 6:20-23, 27-49; 7:1-10,

⁴The length of the portion which might be transmitted independently would depend somewhat upon its character. Even a comparatively brief saying might be handed down without connection; but a detail of a narrative if transmitted must have come down as a part of a story.

⁵On the differing significance of agreements on the one hand in details of threefold narrative, and on the other in matter *en bloc*, see I, 8, p. 11.

⁶There is necessarily some room for difference of opinion as to precisely how much should be reckoned as

threefold material, and precisely of what nature and extent a twofold agreement must be to exclude it from the list. The above list of passages could doubtless be criticised both as including too much and as excluding too much. It is believed to be at least approximately correct.

⁷Concerning the parallel matter in Matt., chaps. 5-7, and Luke 6:20-49, see more fully under 10 below. Some verses of Matt. are included in the above list which are only partially paralleled in Luke.

18:28, 31-35; 9:57-60; 10:2-15, 21-24; 11:2-4, 9-13, 19, 20, 23-26, 29-32, 34, 35, 39-42, 44-52; 12:1-9, 22-34, 39-46, 51-53, 58, 59; 13:20, 21, 28, 29, 34, 35; 14:25-27, 34, 35; 15:4-7; 16:13, 16; 17:3, 4, 23-27, 34-37; 19:20-27. This material which Matt. and Luke possess in common, but do not share with Mark, is partly narrative in character, partly discourse material. The resemblance of form, words, sentences, order of sentences, is for the most part very close. An example of it may be seen in Matt. 3:7-10 and Luke 3:7-9 printed on page 13. In location, on the other hand, there is very little agreement, the only instances in which corresponding material can be strictly said to be correspondingly placed being the section just referred to, the account of the preaching of John the Baptist, where Matt. 3:7-10, 12, and Luke 3:7-9, 17 contain the same material and are similarly placed, and the temptation story, in which Matt. and Luke closely agree in their additions to Mark except in the order of the second and third temptations.

e. The matter peculiar to Matt., which therefore Mark and Luke agree in omitting (*i. e.*, in not containing), is the following: Matt., chaps. 1; 2; 4:13-16; 5:4, 7-10, 13-24 (but with partial parallels in Luke), 27, 28, 33-37; 6:1-7, 14-18 (with partial parallels of 14, 15 in Mark and Luke), 34; 7:6, 13-15 (with partial parallels in Luke); 8:17; 10:5, 6, 23, 41; 11:28-30; 12:17-21, 36, 37; 13:24-30, 35-53; 14:28-31; 15:12-14; 16:12, 17-19; 17:24-27; 18:10, 16-20, 23-35; 19:10-12; 20:1-16; 21:4, 5, 14-16, 28-32; 22:1-14; 23:2, 3, 5, 8-10, 15-22; 24:10-12; 25:1-23, 30-46, 52-54; 27:3-10, 19, 24, 25, 51b-53, 62-66; 28:2-4, 9-20.

f. The matter peculiar to Mark, which therefore Matt. and Luke agree in omitting (*i. e.*, in not containing), is the following: Mark 3:20, 21; 4:26-29; 7:32-37; 8:22-26; 9:49, 50; 13:33-37; 14:51, 52.

g. The matter peculiar to Luke, which therefore Matt. and Mark agree in omitting (*i. e.*, in not containing), is the following: chaps. 1; 2; 3:5, 6, 10-15, 18-20; 4:16-30; 5:1-11; 6:24-26; 7:11-17, 29, 30, 36-50; 8:1-3; 9:51-56, 61, 62; 10:1, 16-20, 25-42; 11:1, 5-8, 27, 28, 36-38, 53, 54; 12:13-21, 35-38, 47-50, [54-57]; 13:1-17, 22-27 (with partial parallels in Matt.) 31-33; 14:1-24, 28-33; 15:1-3, 8-32; 16:1-12, 14, 15, 19-31; 17:5-22, 28-32; 18:1-14; 19:1-19, 39-44; 21:34-38; 22:15-17; 24-32 (but with partial parallels in Matt.), 35-38; 23:4-16, 27-32, 40-43; 24:7-53.

5. When there are three parallel accounts—*i. e.*, in the matter referred to in 4a—Matt. and Luke resemble each other much less closely than either Matt. and Mark, or Mark and Luke. In a very large preponderance of the agreements of Matt. and Luke they resemble one another only in so far as both agree with Mark. Beyond this their agreements consist only in the occasional omission of matter found in Mark, and the occasional agreement in a single word or brief phrase not found in Mark. The facts, reduced to numerical statement, are as follows:

a. Matt. and Mark agree against Luke by addition or substitution in approximately 1,600 words.

b. Mark and Luke agree against Matt. in approximately 860 words.

Does not the author mean that they agree in the addition or substitution 1,600 words, not in the 1,600 words added or substituted?

c. Matt. and Luke agree against Mark in approximately 275⁸ words.

A more careful scrutiny of this third and smaller group of agreements discloses several facts which tend still further to emphasize the disparity of these numbers. The 275 words of agreement are distributed in about 175 instances, from which it appears that they average less than two words each. Of these 175 instances, 15 consist in the substitution of *εἰπον* for *λέγω*, about 20 of *δέ* for *καὶ*, 2 of *καὶ* for *δέ*. A comparison of Mark with each of the other gospels shows that in many instances the substitution of *εἰπον* for *λέγω* and of *καὶ* for *δέ* appears also as between Mark and each of the others singly. This fact indicates that in these 35 instances we have simply the coincident effect of causes which affected both Matt. and Luke alike. In about 20 of the 175 instances in which Matt. and Luke agree (wholly or in part) against Mark, the three agree in that they use words of the same root, Matt. and Luke employing a form differing from Mark's in prefix or termination. Many instances of change in which Matt. and Luke agree are explicable as due to a common impulse of Matt. and Luke to improve Mark's Greek, as, *e. g.*, by the substitution of an aorist for an historical present (Mark 4:38; 5:15; 11:1; 11:7—*cf.* 15:20—and parallels), or the participle for a finite verb with *καὶ* (Mark 1:41; 4:38; 5:38; 6:7; 11:2; and parallels), or to conform the statement more exactly to the facts as understood by them (*cf.* Mark 6:14; 8:31; 10:34 with the parallels). There remain, however, a considerable number of additions and substitutions which are of a different character. But of these instances scarcely more than one in ten causes a difference in meaning between the several accounts, and these affect only the merest details. The common additions of Matt. and Luke to Mark which affect the sense of the passage further than by the change of tense or an unimportant exchange of prepositions are as follows: Mark 1:5 = Matt. 3:5 = Luke 3:3, 5 words; Mark 1:8 = Matt. 3:11 = Luke 3:16, 2 words; Mark 2:12 = Matt. 9:7 = Luke 5:25, 4 words; Mark 3:1 = Matt. 12:9 = Luke 6:6, 1 word; Mark 3:18 = Matt. 9:2 = Luke 6:14, 3 words; Mark 4:10 = Matt. 13:10 = Luke 8:9, 1 word; Mark 4:41 = Matt. 8:27 = Luke 8:25, 2 words; Mark 5:27 = Matt. 9:20 = Luke 8:44, 2 words; Mark 6:7 = Matt. 10:1 = Luke 9:1, 1 word; Mark 6:34 = Matt. 14:14 = Luke 9:11, 2 words (?); Mark 9:2 = Matt. 17:2 = Luke 9:29, 2 words (?); Mark 13:19 = Matt. 24:21 = Luke 21:23, 1 word; Mark 14:62 = Matt. 26:64 = Luke 22:69, 2 words; Mark 14:65 = Matt. 26:68 = Luke 22:64, 5 words; Mark 14:72 = Matt. 26:75 = Luke 26:62, 4 words; in all, 15 instances, 37 words.

d. Peculiar to Luke in threefold matter—*i. e.*, omitted by Matt. and Mark—are approximately 1,100 words, for which there is no equivalent or substitute in the other gospels.

e. Peculiar to Matt. in threefold matter—*i. e.*, omitted by Mark and Luke—are approximately 830 words.

⁸These figures are based upon the Tischendorf text as printed in HUCK's *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*. The results of a count from another text, such as that of WEST-

f. Peculiar to Mark in threefold matter—*i. e.*, omitted by Matt. and Luke—are approximately 1,000 words. Respecting the matter of omissions in threefold matter there is, however, much room for difference of opinion, and the figures given under d, e, f must be regarded as approximate only.

6. Respecting agreements and disagreements in order the facts are these:

Matt. and Mark agree against Luke in the placing of two sections in which the narrative is evidently threefold: The true kindred of Christ, recorded in Mark 3:31–35 and Matt. 12:46–50 immediately preceding the parables by the sea (Mark 4:1–34; Matt. 13:1–53), in Luke follows these parables; the imprisonment of John the Baptist, recorded in Mark 6:17, 18 and Matt. 14:3, 4 in connection with the results of the missionary journey of the Twelve, is given by Luke at the close of his account of the preaching of John, Luke 3:19, 20. In the arrangement of paragraphs within a section Matt. and Mark agree against Luke in the account of the last supper and in the narrative of the trial. Besides these instances there are three in which Luke, though recording an event similar to that of Mark and Matt., evidently gives a wholly independent account unrelated in a literary way; and one in which Luke's account is, in the main at least, independent of Mark, and Matt. is partly parallel to Mark, partly to Luke. These passages—Luke 4:16–30; 5:1–11; 7:36–50 and 11:14–32—do not concern us at this point.

Mark and Luke agree against Matt. in the location of thirteen sections, which lie between Matt. 4:23 and 13:58. Within these limits there are certain groups of two or three sections the sections of which succeed one another in the same order as in Mark and Luke, but the groups themselves are differently located. In respect to the narratives which precede and follow these limits, Matt. agrees with Mark in the order of sections except in the transposition of the conversation between Jesus and his disciples concerning the withered fig tree to a place in immediate connection with the cursing of the tree. But as Luke omits both of these sections, the transposition does not result in a disagreement of Matt. with both Mark and Luke.

7. Matt. and Luke never agree against Mark in order of sections or paragraphs.

7. Of the ancient testimonies bearing upon the origin of the synoptic gospels, it must suffice to present a few which are of special significance and importance.

First among these is the preface of Luke's gospel:

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, ἔδοξε κάμοι παρηκολούθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, ὡν ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὃν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

This passage bears for us the important testimony of the author of this gospel that when he wrote there were already in existence several narratives of the life of Jesus, more or less complete, and that these narratives were based, in the intention of their writers at least, on the oral narratives of the life of Jesus which proceeded from the personal companions of Jesus, men who had witnessed the events from the

beginning, and from the beginning had been ministers of the word. The author thus implies that his writing was subsequent both to the formation of an oral tradition and to the putting forth of not a few written gospels based upon this oral testimony of the eyewitnesses. He does not definitely state of which of these sources he had made use in his work, but he expressly affirms the existence of both the oral tradition and the written gospels, and implies that both were accessible to him. It is instructive to observe that while the author includes in his own gospel a story of the infancy, he yet implies that the oral gospel and the writings that preceded his were coincident in scope with the public life of Jesus; in other words, were of the same general extent as the gospel of Mark. They who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word are one class not two. "From the beginning" must therefore mean from the beginning, not of the life of Jesus, but of his ministry, since only from the latter time were there ministers of the word. Their testimony, therefore, and the gospels based thereon, covered only the public life of Jesus.

Second among the important ancient testimonies is that of Papias, transmitted by Eusebius in the following passage (*H. E.*, iii, 39):

Καὶ [Παπίας] ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἴδιᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις· ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαῖς νῦν προσθήσομεν τὰς προεκτεθεῖσας αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἢ περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθεται διὰ τούτων.

Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε. Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. Οὔτε γὰρ ἥκουσε τοῦ κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὑστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων· ὡστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος, οὐτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἥκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ιστόρηται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταντ' εἴρηται·

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραΐδη διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτά, ὡς ἦν δυνατός, ἔκαστος.

The assertions of this passage which are of particular significance for our present purpose are two. First, Papias affirms, on the authority of the Elder, that Mark wrote a book containing an account of the things that were said and done by the Lord, upon the basis of the testimony of Peter, the latter of course being, as Mark was not, an eyewitness of the events of Jesus' life. There can be but little doubt that Eusebius, in identifying the gospel thus written with the gospel of Mark current under that name in his day, and, we may add, in our own day, was doing what Papias did before him. We cannot, indeed, assume without proof that the second and fourth centuries were right in this identification. But it is evident at the least that the statement of Papias that Mark wrote a gospel based directly on eyewitness testimony reflects the belief of the second century.

But secondly, Papias also testifies that Matthew wrote a book in the Hebrew

(meaning either Hebrew or Aramaic) language, consisting of the "sayings" (*λόγια*). There can be no reasonable doubt that *τὰ λόγια* means in this connection the utterances of Jesus. That it was written in the Hebrew language was apparently known to Papias through tradition, not from his own possession of it in that language; for the time when it was necessary for each (Greek) reader to translate it for himself is spoken of as past. Papias therefore intimates a distinction between the gospel that Matthew wrote and the one that was commonly current in his day and circle, though not suggesting that the two differed otherwise than in language. It would be instructive, but would unduly prolong this portion of the paper, to examine the testimony of later writers to the existence even at a later time of Hebrew gospels with which was associated the name of Matthew, and from such testimony to deduce a conclusion as to how much an ancient writer meant when he seemingly identified two works.

8. Of kindred significance with the ancient testimonies concerning the rise of the gospels is the evidence respecting the literary methods of the period in which the gospels arose. Here again it is impossible to marshal all the evidence. It must suffice to refer briefly to three items of special significance.

The first of these is contained in the New Testament itself and in no small part in the gospels, being furnished by the quotations which New Testament writers made from the Old Testament. These quotations are certainly in a large number of cases made from the Septuagint version; and, despite all uncertainties respecting the text of that version and of the New Testament, it is possible by comparison of the two to determine with approximate certainty how accurately a New Testament writer felt constrained to quote the text of sacred scripture, which existed in written form and was presumably accessible to him if he saw fit to refer to it. Such comparison will show that, while the Septuagint text is often reproduced with almost literal exactness (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 13:14, 15, quoted from Isa. 6:9, 10; Acts, 2:17-21, quoted from Joel 2:28-32; Rom. 4:7, 8, quoted from Ps. 32:1, 2), yet, on the other hand, the New Testament writer often allowed himself no little liberty of quotation. Sometimes, indeed, the variation from the Septuagint is due to the author's independent use of the Hebrew, but in other cases he departs alike from the Hebrew and the Septuagint (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 2:6, quoted from Mic. 5:2; Rom. 3:14, from Ps. 10:7; Rom. 3:15-17, from Isa. 59:7, 8; Matt. 2:23, from Isa. 11:1 [?]); sometimes when employing nearly the same words, he transposes the phrases (as in Matt. 21:33 and Mark 12:1, quoted from Isa. 5:1, 2, in which the agreement of order between Matt. and Mark against the Septuagint is suggestive, but not exceptional), or combines quotations from different passages (as in Rom. 3:10-18, and more notably in 1 Pet. 2:7, 8; Rom. 9:33).

A second instructive illustration is furnished by the appendix to the gospel of Mark. It is the almost unanimous verdict of textual critics that Mark 16:9-20 is an addition by a later hand than that which composed the body of the gospel.⁹ Whether

⁹ See CONYBEARE, in *Expositor*, Vol. IV, No. 8, p. 241; *Schluss des Markusevangeliums*; ZAHN, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2d ed., Vol. II, pp. 227-35.

it is from the hand of Aristion is not significant for our present purpose, since it is at any rate later than the rest of the gospel. It is scarcely less evident that it makes use of the concluding portions of the other gospels, being in part produced from them by very free condensation, in part enlarged by additions from other sources. The situation is of course exceptional; but the verses furnish us none the less an example of the freedom with which a writer, whose work eventually found a place in our gospels, employed sources that beyond all reasonable doubt were in his hands in written form.

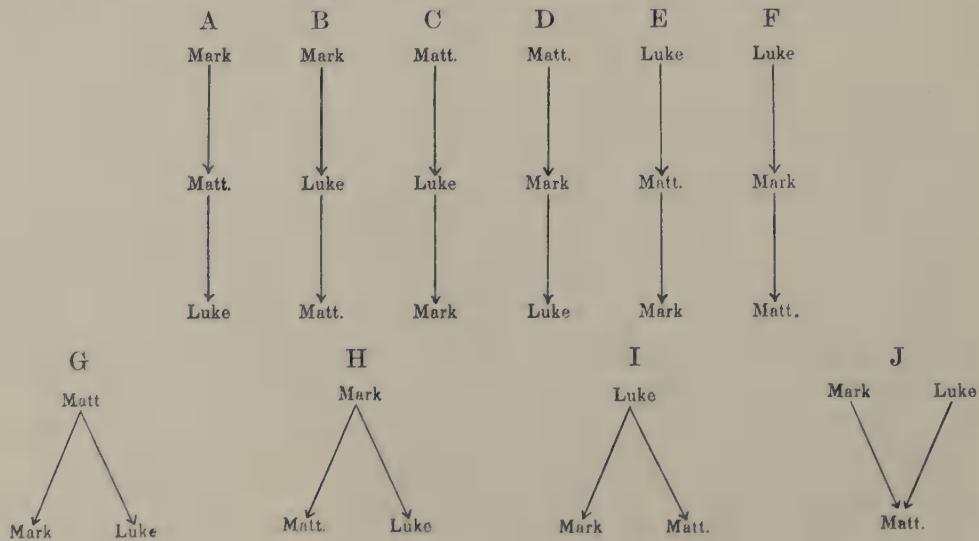
But a still more instructive illustration of the literary method of that age is furnished in the *Diatessaron* of Tatian prepared by an Assyrian Christian about 175 A. D. From our four gospels substantially as we now have them, Tatian with scissors and paste constructed a new composite gospel, which came into common use in the churches of Syria, till in the fifth century Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, removed this composite work from the churches, putting in its place the separate gospels. In this case, we are dealing, not with scattered quotations occurring in the midst of what is in the main an independent work, nor with an appendix added to complete what was evidently felt to be an incomplete gospel, but with a work which, on the one hand, was composed wholly of material already extant, and, on the other, was intended to be a complete work in itself. The production of the *Diatessaron* from the extant canonical gospels was, moreover, simply a further step in the process the earlier stages of which are reflected in the preface of Luke. The sources of the composite book we not only know to have been written, but we have them in our hands, and are able therefore, despite the fact that our only complete witness to Tatian's text is an Arabic translation, and that the confirmatory testimony comes to us through the medium of other languages than the original Greek, to compare the resultant work with the sources. It is, of course, a problem in textual criticism to determine with accuracy the precise text of this work as it left Tatian's hands, as well as to ascertain the precise form of the text of the several gospels which he used. But any uncertainty upon these matters affects only the details of the problem, leaving its main lines clear and distinct. The exhibition in detail of the relation of the *Diatessaron* to its sources is itself a subject for an extended paper, and cannot be undertaken here. But the student who will make the necessary examination will find that, while Tatian clearly possessed and used our four gospels as his sources, and had no others of importance, and while he evidently intended in general to include every event, discourse, and saying found in the four gospels,¹⁰ and in general to record each such event and discourse but once, omitting duplicate accounts, and to retain the paragraphs in substantially their original form, yet there are examples of almost every possible kind of modification of his sources, including addition, duplication, omission, conflation, modification of grammatical

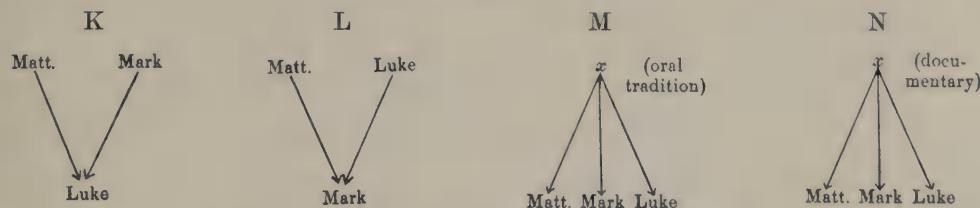
¹⁰The only considerable omissions are the preface of Luke and, according to the preponderance of evidence, the genealogies. The story of the woman taken in adultery and Mark 16:9-20 were without doubt not in the sources used by Tatian. For a full exhibit of the facts respecting Tatian which bear upon the problem discussed in this paper see Honsox, *The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem* (Chicago, 1904).

form, substitution of equivalent terms, and especially of transposition, extending to words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and events. It is evident, indeed, that Tatian framed for himself a scheme of the life of Jesus, and fitted into it the material of the four gospels, freely changing, in order to accomplish this, the location of events even when the gospels definitely marked the time, and building up new discourses out of those which he found in the gospels. He shows no marked tendency either to abbreviate or to expand the individual paragraphs which he derives from his several sources.

Tatian's work, not to go further into detail, makes it wholly clear that in the second century, in which there is every reason to believe that the four gospels were held in even greater reverence, and had more nearly attained a position of finality, than was the case in the first century respecting the many gospels of which the preface of Luke speaks, it was still possible both that the method of constructing books out of other existing books, which we know from such examples as the Book of Enoch and the Teaching of the Apostles to have been common in that age, might be applied to the gospels, and that a gospel so constructed might even displace, in certain regions at least, the older and more directly apostolic sources of such a composite gospel. It cannot, of course, prove that Luke and Matthew were produced by the same process, but it does forbid us to deny the possibility of their production by such a process on the ground that it was contrary to the literary method of the age, or that reverence for the sources would have prevented it.

These facts enable us to test a considerable number of hypotheses respecting the relation of the gospels to one another. Thus, to represent the matter graphically, they tend to show the correctness or incorrectness of all the following views:





Hypothesis M, standing apart in some respects from all the rest, may be considered first. It is in favor of it that it recognizes the existence of an oral tradition antedating all written gospels, which is rendered probable by the preface of Luke, and that it accounts in general for the variations of the gospels from one another in three-fold material and for the differences of order. But it is against it that it fails to account for that large amount of close verbal agreement which exists between the gospels (*cf.* 3 above, p. 13); that it very unsatisfactorily accounts for the remarkable agreement between the gospels, especially between Mark and Luke, in order of sections (*cf.* 6, above, p. 18); and that it furnishes no explanation of the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold matter (*cf.* 5c, above, p. 17). According to any hypothesis which predicates a common source for all three gospels, the three kinds of binary agreements against the third document should be not conspicuously unequal. It is, furthermore, an objection to this theory that it ignores the existence of gospel writings older at least than the latest of our synoptists, which is attested by the preface of Luke, and confirmed by the statement of Papias concerning the *λόγια*-collection made by Matt. (*cf.* 7, above, p. 19), and the strong probability, in view of the literary methods of the time (*cf.* 8, pp. 20 ff.), that such earlier writings would be employed by our evangelists. Still other objections to this view will appear at a later point. But those already stated, even if they are not themselves fatal, are sufficient to lead us to inquire whether there is not another hypothesis which is less open to objection.

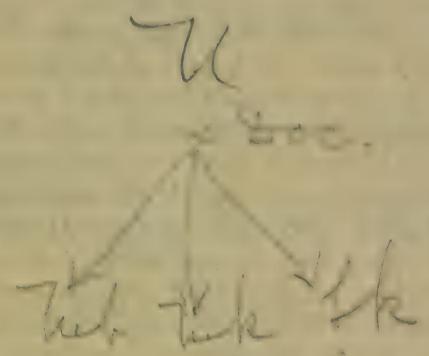
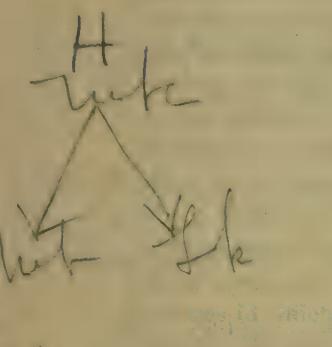
Of the other hypotheses, A, B, C, E, G, and I are excluded by the facts mentioned under 5a, b; A, E, and G, because they exclude any large number of significant agreements of Mark and Luke against Matt. (*cf.* 5b, p. 16); and B, C, and I, because they exclude any considerable number of such agreements of Mark and Matt. against Luke (*cf.* 5a, p. 16), whereas such agreements are, in fact, very numerous throughout threefold material. Hypotheses D and F are shown to be inadequate explanations because they fail to account for the large amount of material occurring in whole sections or paragraphs found in both Matt. and Luke, but not in Mark. J, K, and L are shown to be inadequate by failing to account for any of the material common to all three of the gospels; for any of that which is common to the two documents from which the third is *ex hypothesi* derived; and for material peculiar to the derivative document. J and K are still further open to the objection that the resultant gospel (in J, Matt.; in K, Luke) must in a large number of instances have departed, in detail of

threefold narrative, from both their respective sources, even when these were in agreement. Against N is the significant fact (already urged against M) of the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narratives, as compared with the agreement of Matt. and Mark against Luke, and Mark and Luke against Matt. Before deciding, however, whether hypothesis N is to be excluded, it will be well to compare it with certain other hypotheses which are obviously suggested by the fact that the evidence already examined seems to suggest for Mark a position as in some sense the middle term between Matt. and Luke.

Dismissing for the present all other hypotheses, let us compare hypotheses H and N. The question as between these hypotheses may be put in this form: Is Mark the source of Matt. and Luke so far as concerns the threefold narratives, or have these narratives a common source different from any one of them? If the latter is the case, wherein did this common source differ from Mark? To answer these questions let us refer again to the facts stated under 4 and 5 respecting the nature of the agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark. It has been pointed out there that the positive agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative are about one-third those of Mark and Luke against Matt., and one-sixth of those of Matt. and Mark against Luke; that the agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in omissions, amounting to about 1,000 words, a little less than one-tenth of the gospel, are a little less than those of Mark and Matt. against Luke, and a little more than those of Mark and Luke against Matt.; and that there are no agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in order of sections or paragraphs. It has also appeared that an important fraction of the positive agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark are explicable as due to a motive for changing Mark by which Matt. and Luke might both be affected, and that of the total number of such agreements only fifteen cause a material difference between the several accounts. We have already seen that the list of entire passages in the omission of which Matt. and Luke agree against Mark is a brief one. (See 4f.) From these facts it will appear that if we choose hypothesis N in preference to H, the document *x* which we shall then construct as the common source of Matt., Mark, and Luke will differ in no important respect from the present gospel of Mark. Upon the supposition that Matt. and Luke could not independently agree in the omission of occasional sentences and phrases, and five or six short passages, the latter aggregating about twenty verses, and that the text of Matt. and Luke, as we possess them in our best critical editions, has suffered no harmonistic corruption, we should indeed be compelled, in order to restore *x*, to add to the present Mark some 15 phrases aggregating 37 words; to subtract about 1,000 words occurring here and there throughout the gospel, and some twenty verses occurring in five detached passages, and in 240 words to make slight changes, largely inflectional and not affecting the sense. In no instance should we transpose any of the material from its position in the present gospel of Mark.

But, in fact, neither of the above assumptions is justified. The omission by

Q. 2. tuk has 1000 words & tuk but have not? &
 tuk has ≥ 1000 & tuk but have not, $\text{tuk} \leq$
1000 & tuk but have not?



In other words, tuk agrees with tuk about 3 TS as often as he agrees with ut or tuk . If he was copy, either tuk , ..., it's 3 TS as likely to have = tuk as to have = ut .

He also agrees with tuk or tuk 6 TS as often as he agrees with tuk vs tuk , - a word = a case if he were using tuk , but would = of tuk .

Q. 3. tuk has 1000 words & tuk but have not? &
 tuk has ≥ 1000 & tuk but have not, $\text{tuk} \leq$
1000 & tuk but have not?

1 If this means that α stores a tube file do not
necessarily agree after this commissioning time enough.
Let a fulfilled statement.

2 May be later addition file, or omitted by file tube
because meaning not apparent.

If this work too instances of such common
mission, it would certainly mean dependence
on 2 upon a com source, q tube file have
referred exactly to upon q tube less re-
laxed. But a few instances fixed to.

3 Within a week, text-mission is older. Given
to file unlistable. See Hack, Trunk be.

Matt. and Luke of 1,000 words found in Mark in sections which, as sections, appear in all three gospels, seems at first a weighty fact. But an examination of this material shows that in a relatively small proportion of cases are the facts best explained by assuming the absence of this material from the source. In very few cases is the departure of Matt. and Luke from the Mark narrative the result of simple omission of the same phrase or sentence; the concurrent omission is only the common resultant of processes of modification—condensation or free reproduction—which are in themselves quite different in the two cases. Thus for example in Mark 11:15-17 and parallels, Matt. and Luke both have a shorter account than Mark, Matt., however, passing over Mark's vs. 16, Luke omitting 15b (longer than 16) and 16. Mark, chap. 5, and parallels, furnish a still better illustration. Matt. and Luke both contain a shorter account than Mark and coincide in the omission of over 100 words, yet never effect the omission in the same way. The changes thus made by the two evangelists, which result in a long list of words omitted in common, are moreover entirely similar to those which appear in passages in which, there being but two accounts, of which Mark is one, the other gospel, Matt. or Luke, gives a shorter account than Mark; or in cases in which, there being three accounts, only one, either Matt. or Luke, is abbreviated. See for example Mark 8:30-33; 9:9, 10, 38-41; 10:32-34; 13:4-23, 28-32, and the parallels. In short the Matt.-Luke coincidences in omission of material found in Mark are for the most part explicable as the result of causes which evidently affected Matt. and Luke alike, but independently. There remain indeed a few instances which are not naturally so explicable. Among these are Mark 1:2b, in which the agreement of the form of the quotation with that in Matt. 11:10 and Luke 7:27, and that too precisely in those particulars in which Matt. and Luke depart from both the Hebrew original and the Septuagint version, together with the improbability that if Matt. and Luke derived this quotation from Mark rather than the converse they would have agreed in inserting the quotation at precisely the same point in their respective narratives, creates a probability that Mark is at this point secondary to Matt. and Luke, or to the document from which Matt. and Luke derived their narrative of the message from John the Baptist. But when this one instance has been admitted it becomes less improbable that there are others, among which may perhaps be included Mark 1:13b, *καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρῶν*, 2:27 *τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο*, *καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον*, an expression which one cannot doubt came from Jesus' lips, but for the omission of which by Matt. and Luke if they had it before them in Mark's gospel it is difficult to assign a reason; 3:5, *μετ' ὄργης, συνλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν*, though it is easy to suppose that both evangelists should have had a reason for omitting *μετ' ὄργης*. Other possible examples might be cited, but for none of them can a very strong case be made out.

The presence in Matt. and Luke of common additions to the Mark text of three-fold narratives presents of course a different problem. In so far as it is not explicable as due to an influence affecting both evangelists alike it must be explained, if Mark is

the source of the other two gospels, as due either to the early disappearance from Mark of words originally contained in his text, or to early assimilation of the text of Matt. and Luke. The first of these causes cannot be excluded, but definite evidence of its operation is of course absent; the second, however, viz.: assimilation of the text of Matt. and Luke at so early a point in the history of these gospels that it is impossible to detect and correct it from our existing evidence, though of course like the preceding incapable of direct proof in particular cases, is rendered probable by the general character of the evidence for the text of the gospels. So far from it being reasonable to assume that we are able with our existing evidence to discover all instances in which the two gospels have been assimilated to one another, it is practically certain that the tendencies which we discover by the examination of the existing evidence were already at work in a period antedating extant evidence.

Nevertheless it would be an unwarranted proceeding to affirm that all the agreements of Matt. and Luke in omission are due to accidental coincidence, or to the operation of similar motives affecting both minds; or, on the other hand, that all positive agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark is due either to these causes, or to harmonistic assimilation of Matt. and Luke, antedating existing evidence. We must remain content apparently with that which the evidence seems clearly to establish, namely, that the common source of the threefold narrative of Matt., Mark, and Luke must have contained substantially the material which we now have in our present gospel of Mark, arranged in the same order in which it now stands in that gospel; that there is little reason to suspect a greater divergence of the present gospel of Mark from what we may call the original Mark than is indicated in the additions and omissions suggested above; and it may even be the case that a considerable part of this apparent divergence is only apparent, being due either to a similar modification of their source by Matt. and Luke, or to assimilation of Matt. and Luke to one another subsequent to the construction of their respective gospels, but antecedent to the date of our oldest textual evidence. It is evident that at this point documentary criticism and textual criticism meet and merge. It is possible that the divergence of our present Mark from the form in which it was apparently used as a source by Matt. and Luke is due almost wholly to causes which, if we were able definitely to discover them, would be found to belong to the field of textual criticism. It appears therefore that, in view of the facts, hypothesis N must involve the view that x is not very different from our present Mark, and that hypothesis H must recognize that Mark may have undergone some slight change, editorial or scribal, between the time of its use by Matt. and Luke and the time to which our textual evidence carries us back; and that so modified either of these hypotheses will account for the triple narrative of the synoptic gospels. For convenience we may then dismiss hypothesis N, and speak hereafter in terms of H, it being understood that this hypothesis is subject to the qualifications already indicated.

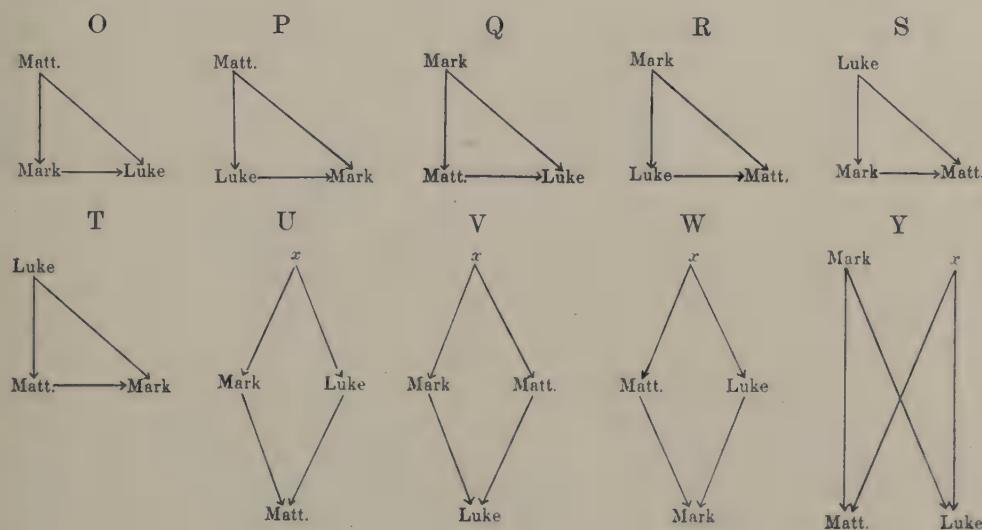
But while this hypothesis H accounts for the threefold material, it as evidently

fails to account for that large amount of material common to Matt. and Luke not found in Mark, to say nothing of parts peculiar to each of the gospels. This hypothesis must therefore be classed with D, F, J, K, L, as inadequate, *e. g. by itself*.

Our next task must therefore be to consider possible modifications of these inadequate hypotheses, with a view to accounting for those facts which they fail to explain. Thus, to account for the facts, D may be supplemented by the hypothesis that Matt. was used by Luke as well as by Mark; F, by the hypothesis that Luke was used by Matt. as well as by Mark; H, by the hypothesis that Luke used Matt. also as well as Mark, or that Matt. used Luke also as well as Mark; J, by that of a non-extant document used by Mark and Luke; K, by that of a non-extant document used by Matt. and Mark; and L and H may each be supplemented by the hypothesis of a non-extant document used by Matt. or Luke.

But we have also to recognize that certain modifications of the rejected hypotheses, A, B, C, E, G, I, by creating new lines of connection between the gospels and thus accounting for resemblances not accounted for by the simple hypotheses, relieve these latter from some at least of the objections on the basis of which they were rejected. Thus A may be supplemented by the hypothesis that Mark was used by Luke as well as by Matt.; B, by the hypothesis that Mark was used by Matt. as well as by Luke; C, by the hypothesis that Matt. was used by Mark as well as by Luke; E, by the hypothesis that Luke was used by Mark as well as by Matt.; G, by the hypothesis that Luke used Mark also, as well as Matt.; and I, by the hypothesis that Matt. used Mark also, as well as Luke.

In other words, these facts lead us to consider the hypotheses indicated by the following diagrams:



For the testing of these hypotheses we need to take into account certain further facts concerning the material common to Matt. and Luke, but not found in Mark.

9. Matt. and Luke each have a story of the infancy. In several particulars these stories agree; as, *e. g.*, in the names of the parents, Joseph and Mary; the place of the birth, Bethlehem; the place of subsequent residence, Nazareth; the supernatural conception of the child, and his name, Jesus. But though each account occupies some two chapters, the only verbal similarity of the two accounts is in the announcement of the angel to Mary in Luke 1:31, *τέξῃ νίστην, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν*, and the answering words, *έκληθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς*, in 2:21; and the words of the angel to Joseph in Matt. 1:21, *τέξεται δὲ νίστην, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν*, and the corresponding words, *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν*, in 1:23. If one compare these facts with the facts concerning the relation of Matt. and Luke in other periods of the life of Jesus—as, *e. g.*, with the close verbal parallelism of the two similarly located accounts of the preaching of John the Baptist (Matt. 3:7–9, 12; Luke 3:7–9, 17) and of the temptation of Jesus (Matt. 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–13), or again with the scarcely less clearly marked verbal parallelism of passages which are very differently located in the two evangelists (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 11:25–27 and Luke 10:21, 22; Matt. 6:25–33 and Luke 12:22–31), it will be evident that the same explanation cannot be applied to the two classes of facts.

10. The facts respecting the distribution of the material common to Matt. and Luke referred to in 4d above, p. 15, are peculiar and noteworthy.

In the infancy narrative there is, as already stated, no common material save one or two sentences, one of which in Matt. is addressed to Joseph and in Luke to Mary; and the other in each case is the evangelist's statement that the instructions were carried out.

In the narrative of John the Baptist and the associated account of the baptism and temptation of Jesus, the two narratives have, in addition to that which they share with Mark, two sections of closely parallel material similarly located (Matt. 3:7–9, 12; 4:1–11; Luke 3:7–9, 17; 4:1–13).

In the Galilean ministry there are three sections in which Matt. and Luke have an evident literary relationship and there is no Mark account. These three sections are the sermon on the mount, Luke 6:20–49, with its parallels in Matt., chaps. 5–7; the centurion's servant, Matt. 8:5–13 and Luke 7:1–10; John the Baptist's last message, Matt., 11:2–19 and Luke 7:18–35. The relation of the two discourses, or two versions of the one discourse, in Matt., chaps. 5, 6, 7, and Luke 6:20–49, so similar in certain respects, so different in certain others, will call for fuller consideration later. The other two sections exhibit in the two accounts a verbal similarity only less marked than in the narratives of John the Baptist and the temptation. As respects location, it is to be noted that all three of these sections are assigned by both gospels to the same general period of Jesus' ministry, and stand in the same order; but are differently placed by reason of the intervention of different sections between them.

A distinctly different situation confronts us when we come to examine that portion of the material assigned by Luke's gospel to the Perean period which is paralleled in Matt. Of the 379 verses contained in Luke's Perean section (excluding Luke 18:15-43, which is parallel to Mark's account of this same period), 127 verses are found also in Matt. Of this number, 97 stand in Matt. in the Galilean ministry, and 30 in his account of the passion week;¹¹ not a verse is to be found in his account of the Perean period. There are parallelisms between the Matt. and Luke accounts of this period, but they are confined to that portion which both share with Mark. Such a phenomenon is certainly not the result of accident, but must find its explanation in the process by which the gospels were produced. When we turn to the passion week and resurrection story, we find no material common to Matt. and Luke only, exceeding the limits of a brief phrase or sentence,¹² and assigned by both to this period. Each has some material not found in Mark, and there is, as already indicated, considerable material in Matt. at this point that is found in Luke's Perean section; but the parallelism of material common to Matt. and Luke only, such as is found in the early period of the Galilean ministry, wholly disappears in this portion.

These facts enable us to eliminate certain of the hypotheses last enumerated. The objections to the different hypotheses are naturally to a considerable extent the same. Yet it will probably be most satisfactory to treat them *seriatim*, notwithstanding the repetition which this method will involve.

Against hypothesis O are the following considerations:

a. It fails to account for the absence of an infancy story in Mark. In itself this is, of course, not a weighty objection, since it is entirely possible that a later writer should for some reason prefer to begin the gospel with the public work of John the Baptist and Jesus; but the consideration is somewhat strengthened by the evidence that in the omission of the infancy narrative Mark represents the older conception of the limits of the gospel narrative. Appeal may be made on this point to the idea of the limits of the gospel expressed in Acts 1:22, "Beginning from the baptism of John unto the day in which he was taken up from us." But more decisive is the testimony of the preface to the third gospel, the author of which, though he includes in his own gospel an infancy narrative, yet by his phrase, "they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word," reflects the conception that the beginning of the gospel dates from the time when there were those who were both eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. To this may be added the testimony of the gospel of Mark itself, the first line of which, taken according to its most probable meaning, introduces the preaching of John the Baptist as the beginning of the gospel; not, of course, the beginning of this book, but of that gospel which lay back of the written book. When

¹¹ Mark may have furnished 13 verses of those which belong to the Galilean ministry, and 1 of those in the passion week. He contains practically equivalent material, but Matt. agrees verbally with Luke more closely than with Mark.

¹² Matt. 26:50a and Luke 22:48 are alike in substance, not in words; Matt. 26:68 and Luke 22:64 have five words in common which are not in Mark; Matt. 26:75 and Luke 22:62 have a phrase of five words in common, of which two appear in Mark, one of the latter in a different tense.

due weight is given to these facts, it appears distinctly improbable that a gospel which contains a narrative of the infancy is the source of a gospel which begins with the preaching of John the Baptist. In other words, this hypothesis reverses the order of descent which is rendered probable by the facts respecting the infancy narratives.

b. This hypothesis fails to account for the total dissimilarity of the infancy stories as found in Matt. and Luke. That Luke should, as this hypothesis assumes, reproduce in other portions of his gospel, and in many cases almost verbally, the material which he had before him in the gospels of Mark and Matt. (combining with it, as we must assume, material derived from other sources), yet should in the infancy period entirely ignore Matthew's narrative of this period, is certainly very improbable. In other words, this hypothesis contravenes the probability respecting Luke's method as shown by the body of the book.

c. This hypothesis fails to account for the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative. On the simpler hypothesis D, of which hypothesis O is a modification, there is, of course, nothing to produce such agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark. But when Luke is supposed to have used, not only Mark, but also Matt., which Mark had already used, there is then established a direct connection between Matt. and Luke, from which it would naturally result that Luke would sometimes follow Matt. and sometimes Mark in material which both possess, Mark having derived it from Matt. That Luke, following Matt. at times as closely as on this hypothesis he must have done, and sometimes displacing Mark for another source, should have so constantly preferred Mark to Matt. in details of material common to them both is not impossible but improbable. The full force of this objection can be felt only by a detailed comparison of the Greek text of the three narratives.

d. The narratives common to Matt. and Mark bear on the whole the marks of secondary character, not in Mark, but in Matt. *Cf.* 16, p. 46.

e. The theory fails to account for the totally different location of the material found in Luke in the Perea section, and in Matt. in the Galilean ministry or passion week. If Luke had before him the two sources, Matt. and Mark, it is impossible to explain why in using material from Mark he should have followed the order of that evangelist so closely as he evidently does, and, on the other hand, in using material derived from Matt. not found in Mark, should so scrupulously assign the major portion of it to an entirely different period of the ministry from that to which Matt. had assigned it. This is all the more improbable in view of the fact that the material which on this hypothesis Luke must have derived from Matt. is in Matt. imbedded for the most part in extended discourses assigned, as above remarked, to the Galilean ministry or the passion week. Now, since Luke places this material in the Perea ministry, and assigns to the several fragments of it distributed through his record of this ministry specific historical occasions indicated by brief historical introductions, these must have been arbitrary inventions of the evangelist. But there is nothing in this

evangelist's methods of dealing with his other sources that would lead us to ascribe to him such a method of procedure. *On the contrary, he was an adept at furnishing introductory scenes & episodes which were common to both traditions.*

f. It is inadequate in failing to account for the large amount of material peculiar to Luke. This objection belongs, however, in a different class from the preceding, tending to show not that the hypothesis is in itself incorrect, but that it is inadequate.

On the whole this hypothesis labors under insuperable difficulties.

The objections to hypotheses P, Q, R, S, T are for the most part similar to those already urged against O, and may be somewhat more briefly stated.

The objections to hypothesis P are:

a. It reverses the order of descent rendered probable by the facts respecting the infancy narratives. The facts already adduced from Acts 1:21, 22, the preface of Luke, and Mark 1:1 make even more strongly against this hypothesis than against O.

b. A total ignoring of the infancy story of Matt., such as is by this hypothesis ascribed to Luke, is unaccountable in view of the use which by the hypothesis Luke must have made of the other portions of Matt.

c. It fails to account for Mark's omission of that large amount of material which was furnished him in common by both his sources but is not found in his gospel.

d. It inadequately accounts for the relatively small amount of agreement between Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative.

e. It fails entirely to account for the totally different location of the material found in Luke in the Perean section, in Matt. in the Galilean or passion week. Even aside from any comparison of it with his treatment of another source, such as we were able to make in considering hypothesis O, the treatment of the different portions of Matt. which this hypothesis ascribes to Luke is, as pointed out in discussing O, distinctly improbable.

f. It is inadequate in failing to account for the material peculiar to Luke.

The objections to hypothesis Q are:

a. Like O and P it fails to account for the absence of any influence of the infancy story of Matt. upon that in Luke.

b. It inadequately accounts for the relatively small amount of agreement between Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative.

c. It fails to account for the treatment which Luke accorded to that portion of Matt. which he gathered together into his Perean ministry, differing so markedly as it does from that which, on this hypothesis, he accorded to other portions of Matt. and to Mark. The objection urged against O holds with full force against Q.

d. It is inadequate in failing to account for the material peculiar to Luke.

To hypothesis R it is to be objected:

a. It fails to account for the absence of any influence of Luke's infancy narrative upon that contained in Matt.

b. It fails to account for the relatively small amount of agreement between Matt. and Luke against Mark in material found also in Mark.

c. It fails to account for the totally different location of the material found in Luke in the Perean section, in Matt. in the Galilean ministry and passion week. The relation between Matt. and Luke is on this hypothesis, and on the two following, the reverse of that supposed in hypotheses O, P, and Q. But the improbability of the hypothesis at this point is only less than in the preceding three. It is true that if Matt. used Mark, he freely departed from Mark's order so far as concerns arrangement of the material in the first half of the Galilean ministry, that is, from Matt. 4:12 to 13:58. But in no case does he assign discourse material exceeding the limits of a verse or two and derived from Mark to a different period of the life of Jesus. Except in the first half of the Galilean ministry, as already indicated, his departures from Mark's order are extremely slight. The material contained in Luke in the pre-Galilean period he also assigns to the position in which it appears in Luke, and the material found in Luke in the Galilean ministry he likewise assigns to that period, though exercising the same freedom that he has used in respect to Mark. But according to this hypothesis Matt. must have dealt in an entirely different way with the material which he desired to use from Luke's Perean period, carefully placing every verse so employed in a different location, even in a different period of the ministry, from that to which Luke had assigned it. This procedure, while indicating that Matt. must have possessed much of the same material which Luke also contains, is quite inexplicable on the supposition that he had it before him in the precise form and position in which it stands in the gospel of Luke.

d. It is inadequate in failing to account for matter in Luke not found in Mark, or for the important material peculiar to Matt.

The objections to hypothesis S are:

a. By making Mark derivative it reverses the probable order of descent as indicated by the absence of an infancy story from Mark, and its presence in the source Luke.

b. It fails to account for the absence of any influence of Luke's infancy narrative upon Matt.

c. It inadequately accounts for the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold material.

d. It ascribes to Matt. the same improbable way of treating the material of Luke's Perean section that is involved in hypothesis R.

e. It is inadequate in failing to account for the matter peculiar to Matt.

Hypothesis T is open to nearly the same objections as P, but is like R and S in that Matt. is made secondary to Luke. Thus

a. It fails to account for the absence of an infancy story in Mark.

b. It fails to account for Matt.'s independence of Luke in the infancy narratives.

c. It ascribes to Matt. the same treatment of the material of Luke's Perean section, the improbability of which has been pointed out in discussing R and S, although in this case we are without a basis of comparison, since by this hypothesis Matt. did not possess Mark.

d. It fails to account for Mark's omission of that large amount of material which was possessed in common by both his sources but is not found in his gospel.

e. It is inadequate in failing to account for the matter peculiar to Matt., or for the rejection by Mark of this addition to his material found in Luke and of the peculiar material of Luke. But neither this objection nor the immediately preceding one can be strongly urged, since we are without basis of comparison by which to decide by what motives Mark might have been influenced.

Concerning hypothesis U it is sufficient to say that x , being the source of Mark and Luke, must approximate either the one or the other of these gospels, or contain the material now found in both or either of them. In proportion as x approximates Mark the hypothesis approaches R and is open to the objections already urged against that theory. In proportion as x approximates Luke the hypothesis approaches S and is open to the objections urged against that theory. Nor will the difficulty of the hypothesis be obviated by supposing that x contained the sum of the material now found in Mark and Luke, for in that case not only will most of the objections already urged hold, but it will be necessary to suppose further that x contained a considerable number of duplicate narratives of which the two evangelists in each case selected a different one.

Hypothesis V in turn approaches Q if x be supposed to approximate Mark, and is open to the objections urged against Q, or approaches O if x be supposed to approximate Matt. Or, if x be supposed to include all the material now in Mark and Matt. it would be open to substantially the same objections as O.

Hypothesis W approaches P if x be supposed to approximate Matt., or T if x be supposed to approximate Luke. If x be supposed to include only the material common to Matt. and Luke, then it is entirely inadequate by reason of its failure to account for the material which each of them possesses in addition to that which it shares with the other. If x be supposed to include the material now found in both or either of them, not only must that document have been a strange assemblage of duplicates, but the two evangelists ~~which~~ drew from it must, in so large a number of cases as to be explained only by private arrangement between them, have chosen that form of narrative, and those details of narrative, which the other evangelist omitted. Thus, the infancy narrative must have included both the Matt. and the Luke story, and the two evangelists must have so divided the material between them that each omitted what the other used, except, indeed, that both retained certain words of the angel concerning the birth of Jesus and his name, but took pains in this case to ascribe them to different occasions.

Conrady has, indeed, undertaken to defend the hypothesis that these infancy stories are derived from a common source, which he endeavors to relate in some way to the protevangelium of James; but such a hypothesis can only excite surprise that one who has carefully studied the way in which documents were used by ancient writers could have had sufficient confidence in this theory to propose it. Whatever view be

taken of x the theory is open to two objections, one of which also holds against several previous hypotheses, the other of which is peculiar to this theory.

a. By making Mark derivative it contravenes the probable order of descent as indicated by the facts concerning the infancy narratives. Considerations similar to those already adduced against hypotheses O and P on this point hold also against the present hypothesis.

b. It fails to account for the different methods of treatment which on this hypothesis both Matt. and Luke must have adopted toward different portions of the same source. The material which by hypothesis was afterward taken up by Mark, both Matt. and Luke reproduce in closely similar form, and in the main in the same order, the chief exception being in respect to the first half of the Galilean ministry in Matt., as already referred to. But the material which Mark did not afterward take up they treat differently from the way in which they treat Mark, differently from one another, and differently in different parts of the gospel. This fact must be accounted as almost conclusive evidence that we have in some way by this hypothesis reversed the actual order of proceeding. If we endeavor to avoid this difficulty by the obvious suggestion that x is in reality not one document but two, then it immediately appears that one of the two elements into which x is thus resolved must have been substantially the gospel of Mark; in other words, this modification of the hypothesis resolves hypothesis W into hypothesis Y.

If then we turn to consider hypothesis Y, we observe that it is consistent with most of the facts thus far adduced. The recognition of Mark as a common source of Matt. and Luke accounts for that portion of the gospel narrative which is common to all three. It is also consistent with the fact of agreements of Mark and Matt. against Luke, and of Mark and Luke against Matt., and of the much smaller amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark. The recognition of a second, non-extant, source of Matt. and Luke accounts in general for the existence in Matt. and Luke of material not found in Mark. The hypothesis is, however, inadequate. Thus—

a. It fails to account for the existence of entirely independent infancy stories in Matt. and Luke.

b. One document additional to Mark is inadequate to account for the great differences in arrangement and content of the post-infancy portions of Matt. and Luke. For it is evident that a document containing only the material common to Matt. and Luke fails to account for the important matter peculiar to the first and third gospels respectively. On the other hand a document containing both the non-Markan material common to Matt. and Luke and the material peculiar to each excludes the explanation of the great differences between Matt. and Luke in content and arrangement of non-Markan material by their possession of sources only in part the same, or by a difference in their method of combining the sources (such as would be natural or inevitable in case of a multiplicity of sources used by the two evangelists), and compels the supposition of a rearrangement, by one or the other of the evangelists, of the non-Markan

document possessed by them both, and a variant treatment of different parts of the same document by the same evangelist, for neither of which can any motive be discovered. If, for example, the non-Markan source be supposed to have contained the material common to Matt. and Luke in the setting in which it appears in Matt. we have nearly the same situation supposed in hypothesis O, and objection e urged against that hypothesis holds here also with slight modification. Or, if the non-Markan material existed in the form and connection in which Luke now has it, the situation is nearly the same as in hypothesis R, and objection c urged against that view holds here with little change. The facts still to be considered will set in still clearer light the inadequacy of one non-Markan source to account for all the facts.

The recognition of these inadequacies of hypothesis Y calls for its modification by the recognition of the fact that x is not in reality one document, but two, or even more.¹³ In order to discover into how many parts x is to be resolved, and what the constituents of each part were, it will be necessary now to examine the gospels Matt. and Luke once more, and more closely, and to compare them with reference both to the material which they have in common and to that which is peculiar to each.

11. It is one of the long-ago observed peculiarities of the first gospel that it contains certain extended discourses of Jesus, somewhat regularly distributed through the book. There are in all six of these, occupying nine chapters of the gospel: the sermon on the mount in chaps. 5-7, the missionary discourse in chap. 10, the parables of the growth of the kingdom in chap. 13, the discourse on the personal relations of the disciples in chap. 18, the invective against the Pharisees in chap. 23, and the discourse on the end of the nation in chaps. 24 and 25. If now we examine these discourses with reference to the extent to which they are paralleled in the other gospels, we discover two facts: (1) In every case there is at an approximately corresponding place in one or both of the other synoptic gospels, a discourse, or at least a few sentences, on the theme of the discourse as given in Matt. In the case of the sermon on the mount this parallel discourse is in Luke only; in the case of all the rest it is found in both Mark and Luke.¹⁴ (2) In every case the discourse in Matt. contains, in addition

¹³ Hypothesis Y might also be modified by the theory that Mark also possessed x ; or this might be combined with the resolution of x , in which case Mark might be supposed to have possessed one or more of the component elements of x . But the only advantage gained by this dependence of Mark on x is that it would explain that relatively small amount of agreement which exists between Matt. and Luke against Mark. But against it are the objections (a) that it fails to account for the fact that this agreement is so small in amount; if Matt. and Luke both possessed a source of Mark, it would be reasonable to

expect that they would oftener adopt readings of that source which Mark had modified; (b) that in the form which leaves x unresolved it supposes Mark to have omitted from his sources more material than he used; in the form which resolves x into elements, the only part that could on the basis of evidence be supposed to be in Mark's hands would be a slightly different recension of what we now possess in Mark; this amounts simply to saying that the present Mark is a slightly different edition from that which Matt. and Luke used; (c) that it unnecessarily complicates the hypothesis.

¹⁴ This general parallelism of the discourses of Matt. with material found in Mark and Luke will appear in the following list:

The sermon on the mount:	Matt., chaps. 5-7 - 3 ^{chaps}	Luke 6:20-49 — 29 1/8.
The mission of the Twelve:	Matt. 10:1-11:1	Mark 6:7-13
The parables by the sea:	Matt. 13:1-53	Mark 4:1-34
Personal relations of disciples:	Matt., chap. 18	Mark 9:33-50
Discourse against the Pharisees:	Matt., chap. 23	Mark 12:38-40
Eschatological discourse:	Matt., chaps. 24, 25.	Mark, chap. 13

now can we fit in the Lk 9 = called approximately corresponding places.

to the material which is parallel to that of the corresponding section in Mark or Luke, certain other material. If now we examine this additional material, looking for parallels to it in other parts of the other gospels, we shall discover that it is of three kinds:

a. There is in each of the discourses a certain portion peculiar to Matt.

b. There is a large amount of material paralleled only in Luke, and at an entirely different place, though usually closely resembling it in language. The Luke parallels of this last material (save that Matt. 10:24a=Luke 6:40a) are invariably in his Perean section, 9:51—18:14; 19:1—28; *i. e.*, in that portion of his record of the Perean ministry of which there are no parallels in Mark's record of this period.

c. There is in some of these discourses a small amount of material found also in Mark, but in a different position, much of this being also paralleled in Luke in a position corresponding to that of Mark. It is worthy of notice that in no instance do the Matt. discourses contain material parallel to that in Luke, except such as is either in the six parallel discourses (in every instance except the sermon on the mount the Luke discourse being closely parallel to that found in the corresponding place in Mark) or in the Perean section.

If now, dismissing these results from mind altogether, we undertake a study of these discourses of Jesus as reported in Matt. with reference to their content and structure, we discover that there are certain portions of them which give us difficulty, either because they interrupt what seems to be the evident logical structure of the discourse, or because they are as evidently inappropriate to the occasion described in the introduction to the discourse. Thus in the sermon on the mount we find that there are certain portions which, though not so distinctly foreign to the general course of thought as to arrest the attention of the casual reader, do yet disclose themselves as such to careful study. For example, chap. 6 opens with the words: "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men to be seen of them; else ye have no reward with your Father who is in heaven." It is evident that Jesus is here passing to contrast the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven with the conduct of the Pharisees, as in the preceding chapter he had contrasted it with their teaching, and specifically now in respect to ostentatiousness. Positively stated, he is insisting upon righteousness of the heart and before God, who knows the heart, in contrast with outward conduct performed to win the praise of men, just as in chap. 5 he had contrasted righteousness of the heart with a literalism that kept the letter of the statute at the sacrifice of real morality. It is scarcely less clear that he here gives three illustrations of this general teaching, viz., almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. If now the first and third of these illustrations be compared, the paragraphs severally devoted to them will be seen to be exactly symmetrical in structure. They begin with similar words, "When thou doest alms," "When ye fast," and each ends with the words, "and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee." The intervening verses, moreover, are exactly parallel in thought and form, differing only in that which forms the subject of the illustration. If the second illustration be examined, it will be found that the first two verses constitute a

perfect parallel to the first and third illustrations. To these verses, however, there are added in the case of the second illustration nine more, which not only exceed the parallelism and destroy the symmetry of structure, but, what is much more significant, carry the thought away from righteousness before God, illustrated in the case of prayer, to prayer in general, first to simplicity in prayer, and then to the forgiving spirit as the condition of securing the answer to our prayer for forgiveness.

If we extend our study to the sermon on the mount as a whole, we shall find that similar phenomena characterize the whole discourse. Studied throughout with reference to its structure and course of thought, and wholly without reference to the bearing of the results on the synoptic problem, it will be found to contain two somewhat distinct strata of material. There is first a discourse on a clearly defined theme, the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, especially in relation to the current ethics which were professedly derived from the Old Testament. This discourse has a well-defined structure, and presents no difficulties of analysis that are at all serious. Overlying this, or, to drop the figure, interpolated into it, is a series of additions, each of which is either attached, as the words about prayer are, to a paragraph dealing with the same theme, from which they are nevertheless a digression, or constitutes an entirely new paragraph more or less closely related in thought to that paragraph of the first stratum which it follows.

If, furthermore, the two strata themselves be examined with reference to their parallels in other parts of the gospels, it will be found that the facts respecting them are different. The first one constitutes a discourse which has a manifest relationship with that which stands in Luke 6:20-49, and yet is as clearly different from it. The two are similar in general theme and in certain striking sentences, and, what is most remarkable, in the order of the similar parts, there being but three or four instances of parallel verses differently placed, and but one (Matt. 7:12; Luke 6:31) in which the difference of position exceeds the limits of a paragraph. On the other hand, the two discourses are very unequal in extent, that of Matt. being three and one-half times as long as Luke's, but Luke's also containing some material not in Matt. They are very different in point of view, Luke's form wholly lacking the Jewish atmosphere which is so characteristic of Matthew's. It is impossible to doubt that these discourses are in some way related; it is impossible to suppose that either can have been derived wholly from the other, difficult to suppose that either can have constituted a direct and chief source of the other. The resemblance is widely different in degree, if not in kind, from that which marks those portions of the gospels which we are constrained to refer to a common source, and the resemblance between the basal stratum of the Matt. discourse and Luke 6:20-49 is widely different from that which appears in comparing those portions of this discourse which are paralleled in Luke's Perean section with the Lukian version of them.

Since neither Luke nor Mark can have been the sole source of the basal stratum in Matt., we are compelled to posit a source no longer extant in separate form, and

presumably distinct from any document possessed by Luke, since much of the material of which we are speaking does not appear in his gospel.

The interjected material, on the other hand, has in general no parallel in the corresponding discourse in Luke, but almost all of it is paralleled in other portions of the gospels. It is of two kinds as respects the location of its parallels. The largest portion of it is found in Luke's Perean section.¹⁵ A small portion is paralleled in Mark.¹⁶ A few verses are paralleled more or less completely both in Luke's Perean section and in Mark.¹⁷

Now, these facts, combined with those which we have already considered with reference to the relation of the gospels, point strongly to the conclusion that the sermon on the mount in its present form is drawn from at least three sources; first, a basal discourse—a discourse more or less closely resembling that which is contained in Luke 6:20-49; second, a document which contained Luke, chaps. 11 and 12, and probably chap. 16, but which was not our present Luke; and, third, the gospel of Mark. (The few sentences in this discourse which are paralleled in Mark would not perhaps require this addition, but, in view of the other evidence that Matt. possessed Mark, this is the simplest way to account for them.¹⁸)

The discourse which with its introduction is contained in Matt. 9:36—11:1 is not less instructive, though the facts are somewhat different. This discourse is said to have been spoken to the Twelve on the occasion of sending them out on a missionary journey. In the early part of it Jesus instructs them to go only to the lost sheep

¹⁵ Matt. 5:25, 26 has its parallel in Luke 12:58, 59; Matt. 5:32 in Luke 16:18; Matt. 6:8 in Luke 12:30; Matt. 6:9-13 in Luke 11:2-4; Matt. 6:19-34 in Luke 12:22-34; 11:34, 35; 16:13; Matt. 7:7-11 in Luke 11:9-13. Besides these seven passages, there are several which do not so clearly interrupt the course of thought in Matt. Matt. 5:13b is paralleled in Luke 14:34; Matt. 5:15 in Luke 11:33; Matt. 5:18 in Luke 16:17; Matt. 7:13, 14 in Luke 13:24.

¹⁶ Matt. 5:29, 30 is paralleled in Mark 9:43, 47 (and Matt. 18:8, 9); Matt. 5:32 in Mark 10:11 (and Matt. 19:9); Matt. 6:14 in Mark 11:25.

¹⁷ Thus with Matt. 5:13b *cf.* Luke 14:34, 35 and Mark 9:50; with Matt. 5:15 *cf.* Luke 11:33 and Mark 4:21 (also Luke 8:16); with Matt. 5:32 *cf.* Luke 16:18 and Mark 10:11 (also Matt. 19:9).

¹⁸ If we inquire more closely respecting the origin of the sermon as given by Matt., two hypotheses suggest themselves as possibly accounting for the facts. (a) It may be that we have in Luke's discourse and in that portion of Matt. which we have designated as its first or basal stratum two different recensions of the same material. These two recensions have evidently diverged widely from one another under the influence of the intention to adapt them to different readers or hearers, and have exercised little influence upon one another since their divergence, yet have retained, especially in order of topics treated, clearly recognizable evidence of their relationship. (b) The discourse in the Lukan form may be the basis upon which, with the use of material drawn from an independent source, the discourse in Matt. has been built up. The second of

these hypotheses is favored by the close verbal resemblance of a small portion of the material which Matt. has in common with Luke (see especially Matt. 7:1-5; Luke 6:37a, 38b, 41, 42), and by the close resemblance in order of parallel material. The first hypothesis is favored by the independent treatment of the subject which characterizes most of the Matt. discourse which is parallel to Luke 6:20-49, by the clearly marked plan and clearly defined and independent point of view of the basal discourse in Matt., and by the fact that the second hypothesis compels us to suppose that the same writer first built up out of two sources a discourse having marked unity and definiteness of purpose, and then destroyed that unity by additions from a third source; for if it be said that these two steps were taken by different authors, then the final author of the gospel already possessed the discourse, not in its elements, Luke 6:20-49 and a second source, but with these two combined into what we have called the basal discourse in Matt. The diverse indications of the evidence suggest modifications of the first hypothesis in the direction of the second. Thus the close verbal parallelism of Matt. 7:1-5 with Luke 6:37a, 38b, 41, 42, combined with the close resemblance in order of the sentences common to the discourses, may lead to the conclusion that, while Matt. possessed a discourse having substantially the characteristics of the basal discourse in this gospel, he also possessed Luke 6:20-49 and made some use of it. This view is somewhat favored again by observing that, while Matt. 7:1-5 is not distinctly foreign to the basal discourse, it is less clearly germane to it than those portions in which the verbal resemblance to Luke 6:20-49 is less clearly marked.

of the house of Israel, but in the next paragraph, 10:16 ff., there is a sudden forward projection in time, and a sudden widening of the horizon. He speaks of their being delivered up to councils, of being scourged in the synagogues, of being brought before governors and kings for a testimony to them and to the gentiles, and finally declares: "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Judea till the Son of man be come." These words evidently refer to the time after his departure, and their incongruity with this occasion is evident.

If now we look for the parallels of this discourse that appear in the corresponding sections in Mark and Luke, we discover that they are confined to six verses (10:10-14), and that none of the incongruous material appears in these verses. If we examine the material outside these six verses, (including of course all the incongruous matter, as well as some which is not inappropriate to this occasion,) we find that (save for 10:24a) it falls into three parts: first, material which has no parallel in the other gospels; second, material which is paralleled in the Perean portion of Luke; and, third, material which is paralleled in Mark, chiefly in his report of the eschatological discourse of Jesus spoken just before his death. Except for half a verse, therefore, the Matt. discourse contains no material parallel to Luke that is not found either in the corresponding portion of Mark or in Luke's Perean section. Thus the general facts respecting this discourse are the same as respecting the sermon on the mount, except that, whereas in the sermon on the mount the basal element was a different recension of the discourse found in Luke 6:20-49, in this case it is in a passage of six verses paralleled at the corresponding place in Mark. The facts in detail will be easily seen by referring to the table appended to this essay.

We may next examine the parables in Matt. 13:1-53. There are seven of them. Two of them, together with the interpretation of the first and the discussion concerning the reason for teaching in parables, are closely paralleled in Mark and in the parallel passage in Luke. (The tests for three documents, it may be said in passing, strongly suggest the originality of Mark and the independent use of Mark by the other two gospels.) Two of the seven are found in Luke's Perean portion, chap. 13, one of these being included in the two previously mentioned. The remaining four are peculiar to Matt. The facts are therefore substantially the same as in the preceding case, but differ in two minor particulars. There is in this case no material parallel to that which is found in Mark, except that which appears in the principal and similarly located parallel passage. One of the parables, that of the mustard seed, appears both in the corresponding passage of Mark and in Luke's Perean section. It is instructive to observe that the parable of the leaven immediately follows the parable of the mustard seed both in Luke's Perean section and in Matt. Plurality of sources for Matthew's chapter, as also the presence in both sources of the parable of the mustard seed, is obviously suggested. Of like significance is the double termination of the collection in Matt.'s chapter, vss. 34, 35, (parallel to Mark 4:33; 34,) with which he concludes his collection of parables, forming the first conclusion, and vs. 53, peculiar to this

gospel, the second. Though we do not possess separately the source from which the material peculiar to Matt. is drawn, this fact certainly suggests conflation of Mark with this non-extant document, and the whole chapter has the marks of being a conflation of elements drawn from three different sources.

The facts respecting the other three long discourses in Matt. can be briefly stated. In the discourse on the personal relations of the members of the kingdom, Matt., chap. 18, the introduction, vss. 1, 2, is similar to the introduction to the parallel passage in Mark (9:33-36) and Luke (9:46, 47). Of the thirty-three verses which make up the discourse proper, vss. 5, 6, 8, 9 are closely parallel to Mark's corresponding section; vss. 12-14 are paralleled in Luke's Perean section, though ~~vs. 3~~ is also paralleled in a non-parallel section of Mark (10:15); and vss. 12-14 vary sufficiently from the Perean version (15:4-7) to raise the question whether Matt. drew it from that source or from some independent source containing substantially the same material. Vss. 10, 15-35 are peculiar to Matt., except for a partial parallelism of vss. 15 and 21 to Luke 17:3, 4.

In the discourse against the Pharisees, Matt., chap. 23, vss. 1, 6, 7a are parallel to the corresponding passage in Mark (12:38, 39). Vss. 4, 12, 13, 23, 25-27, 29-31, 34-36 are paralleled in thought, and to a certain extent in expression, to passages in the Perean section of Luke (11:39-52; 14:11; 18:14); vss. 37-39 are paralleled almost word for word in Luke 13:34, 35; vs. 11 is paralleled in non-parallel sections of Mark (9:35; 10:43, 44); and vss. 2, 3, 5, 7b-10, 15-22, 24, 28, 32, 33 are peculiar to Matt.

In the eschatological discourse, (Matt., chaps. 24, 25), 24:1-9, 13-25, 29-36, 42 is closely parallel to Mark, with only slight additions and changes; 24:26-28, 37-41, 43-51 is paralleled in Luke's Perean section (17:23-27, 34-37; 12:39, 40, 42-46), the verbal resemblance being for the most part very close; 24:10-12, and chap. 25 are peculiar to Matt., except for a slight parallelism with Luke's Perean section in 25:11, 12 (Luke 13:25) and a somewhat closer resemblance between the parable of the talents and Luke's (Perean) parable of the pounds (19:11-27), especially noticeable in the latter part (Matt. 25:24-29; Luke 19:20-25).

It thus appears that, with individual peculiarities in each case, the general facts respecting all these discourses are the same. In each, three elements appear, with the addition in some cases of a fourth of less importance. In each one there is a portion, usually closely connected with the narrative introduction, which is paralleled in the corresponding section of Mark, except that in the sermon on the mount the parallel is in Luke; in each case there is material peculiar to Matt.; in each case there is material paralleled in Luke's Perean section; in some cases there is a verse or two paralleled in a non-parallel section of Mark; in no case is any portion paralleled in Luke outside of 6:20-49, the Perean section, and passages themselves paralleled in Mark.

The portion of these long discourses just referred to of which there is no parallel in either Mark or Luke consists of approximately the following passages: 5:⁴, 7-10, 13a, 14, 16, 17, 19-24, 27, 28, 31, 33-39a, 41, 43; 6:1-7, 10b, 13b, 16-18,¹⁹

¹⁹ Perhaps also 6:19, to which Luke 12:33 is only a substantial parallel.

34; 7:6, 12b, 15, 22; 10:5, 6, 8b, 16b, 23, 25b, 36, 41; 13:14, 15, 24-30, 35-53; 18:4, 10, 14, 16-20, 23-34; 23:2, 3, 5, 7b-10, 15-22, 24, 28, 32; 24:10-12, 30a; 25:1-11a, 13, 14-30,²⁰ 31-46, being in all about 160 to 165 verses.

12. The existence of this material in the longer discourses reported or built up by the author of the first gospel and peculiar to it, naturally raises the question whether there are also in the shorter discourses reported by this evangelist sayings of Jesus not reported in the other gospels. Examination discloses the fact that there are such and yields the following list: Matt. 3:14, 15; 9:13a; 11:28-30; 12:5-7, 11, 12a, 34; 16:17-19; 19:28; 20:1-15; 21:28-32, 43; 22:1-14; 26:52, 53, to which should perhaps be added certain passages in which sayings of Jesus are introduced by a brief narrative, viz., 15:12-14, 23, 24; 17:24-27; 19:10-12; 21:14-16, containing eight more verses of sayings of Jesus. There is, of course, no reason why these sayings of Jesus should be separated from those named above. If, then, we combine the two lists, we find that the following passages of Matt. contain reports of sayings attributed to Jesus and reported in the first gospel only: 3:14, 15; 5:4, 7-10, 13a, 14, 16, 17, 19-24, 27, 28, 31, 33-39a, 41, 43; 6:1-7, 10b, 13b, 16-18, 34; 7:6, 12b, 15, 22; 9:13a; 10:5, 6, 8b, 16b, 23, 25b, 36, 41; 11:28-30; 12:5-7, 11, 12a, 34; 13:14, 15, 24-30, 35-53; 15:12-14, 23, 24; 16:17-19; 17:24-27; 18:4, 10, 14, 16-20, 23-34; 19:10-12, 28; 20:1-15; 21:14-16, 28-32, 43; 22:1-14; 23:2, 3, 5, 7b-10, 15-22, 24, 28, 32; 24:10-12, 30a; 25:1-11a, 13, 14-46; 26:52, 53. Now, the existence of these verses in the gospel of Matt., about 230 in number, consisting of sayings of Jesus not reported in the other gospels and constituting a little over one-fifth of the whole gospel, cannot but remind us of the statement of Papias quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 39): *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραῖδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡμήνευσε δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἔκαστος.* The comparison of the gospels certainly suggests that these passages constituted a source of our gospel of Matt. It is in favor of the supposition that they were in fact contained in, or constituted, the original collection of sayings of Jesus to which Papias refers, that it conforms to this ancient and undisputed tradition, and that it explains, as no theory which makes the Matthean Logia a source of both Matt. and Luke or of all three synoptists can explain, how the present gospel of Matt. obtained the name. On this view the present gospel naturally took the name of that old document which it alone, of our present gospels at least, reproduced and of which it might almost be considered only an enlarged edition. Because of the relation of this document to our first gospel, and its probable relation to the apostle Matthew, we may properly call it the Matthean document, and refer to it by the abbreviation *M*.

13. The peculiar facts respecting the use by Matt. and Luke respectively of that material which the former has assigned to the Perean period, and which the latter has included in his great discourses, point strongly to the existence of this material as part

²⁰ Luke 19:1-27 has another version of what is evidently the same parable which Matt. reports in 25:14-30; in the latter portion, vss. 26-29 of Matt., 22-26 of Luke, the parallelism is very close.

* It is not altogether too much weight given to tradition.
In Burton, *M* = Logia, used by *him* alone.
a. In #13 Burton proceeds to deduction on P₅ in one sect
of the *mb.*

of a separate document possessed by them in common, but very differently employed. That both evangelists used such a common source, not one of them the completed gospel of the other, is shown by facts already referred to (see 10, pp. 28 f., and the discussion of hypotheses O and R, pp. 29, 31). It remains, however, to inquire what was the extent of this document, and in what form it existed. Obviously our first inquiry is whether either of its present existing forms will account for the other; if so, it is needless to posit some third non-existent form.

Will the form in which it exists in Matt. account for its form in Luke? To this a negative answer must be returned. (a) As this material exists in Matt., it is distributed through the Galilean ministry and the passover week. To suppose that Luke possessed this would be to suppose that he had a considerable part of the present gospel of Matt. But in that case it would be difficult to explain why, reproducing the discourse material, often with close verbal exactness, there should be so nearly a total absence of any influence of the narratives of Matt. in the same period upon Luke's narrative sections. (b) It would be impossible to explain why Luke should segregate this particular material, gathering it out of the period in which Matt. had placed it into a period in which Matt. had placed none of it. (c) It would compel the supposition that Luke had detached material from the discourses in which it stood in Matt. and invented for much of it entirely new historical occasions. For it is a fact long ago and often observed that the discourse material which Luke introduces by short narratives, Matt. includes in his long discourses. (d) It would leave still unaccounted for that portion of Luke's account of the Perean period which is contained neither in 18:15-43, parallel to Mark, chap. 10, nor in Matt., and so would still compel the positing of another source.

On the other hand, the hypothesis that a once separate document substantially identical with Luke 9:51-18:14 and 19:1-28 was possessed by both Matt. and Luke, the latter incorporating it bodily, save for the interjection of 18:15-43 from Mark, the former making general excerpts from it, chiefly of the sayings of Jesus, accounts for all the phenomena, and is itself open to no serious objection. That it was in its original form designated as a narrative of the Perean ministry is, in view of the first evangelist's use of it, not at all probable. The position assigned to it by Luke is perhaps sufficiently explained by a lack of any definite designation of it as the narrative of a particular period, together with the fact that both this document (Luke 18:35; 19:1) and Mark (10:46) recorded an arrival at Jericho, which it was obvious to identify. The transposition of material from its connection in this document to the location as given by Matt. would be unnatural in a writer who wished to give the sayings of Jesus as nearly as possible in their original connection, but not improbable in a writer who, as was evidently the case with the first evangelist, was building up an argument out of narrative material, and who, in details at least, controlled his arrangement by topical, not chronological, considerations. It would be easier to account for the absence from Matt. of so large a part of what is found in this document as it

appears in Luke, if we could suppose that he possessed a shorter recension of it, or that Luke added to the original common document material derived from tradition or some other document. But the simplest view is nevertheless that Matt. and Luke both possessed a document substantially identical with Luke 9:51—18:14; 19:1-28, lacking, however, any indication of the precise period to which the events belonged. With reference simply to its location in Luke it may be called the Perean document (P).

14. Mention has been made (10, p. 28) of five sections in part or wholly parallel in Matt. and Luke, this material not being found in Mark. One of these, the sermon on the mount, has already been discussed. The other four sections are the preaching of John the Baptist, the temptation of Jesus, the centurion's servant, and the message from John the Baptist—all, it will be observed, narrative in character, and all in the John the Baptist period, or in the Galilean ministry. (In the first two instances the material common to Matt. and Luke appears in close combination with material found also in Mark. In the last two there is no related matter in Mark.) The existence of these sections, suggesting that if the first and third evangelists possessed Mark as a common source, they had also some other source in common, naturally raises two inquiries: first, whether there is in either of the gospels any material that by its similarity or its connection betrays itself as probably from the same source; and, second, whether there is any clue to the method of either evangelist in using the two sources. In the attempt to answer the first of these questions our attention is directed to two groups of material. In the first of these Luke relates events which as events are either identical with, or very similar to, events also narrated by Mark, but the accounts of which are evidently not the same. These narratives are the call of the four (Mark 1:16-20; cf. Luke 5:1-11), the rejection at Nazareth (Mark 6:1-6; cf. Luke 4:16-30), and the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon (Mark 14:3-9; cf. Luke 7:36-50). (The last named of these, it is to be noted, stands in immediate connection with the fourth of the narratives spoken of above as in whole or in part common to Matt. and Luke only.) The second group includes passages peculiar to Luke standing in close connection with material common to Matt. and Luke. These passages are the words of John to the various classes of people (Luke 3:10-15, 19), the raising of the widow's son (Luke 7:11-17), and the women who accompanied Jesus (Luke 8:1-3). Thus the whole of Luke 7:1—8:3 is made up of material either common to Matt. and Luke or found only in Luke; in other words, of material not found in Mark. If now we examine all the material of these three groups—that which is common to Matt. and Luke, that which apparently displaces similar material in Mark, and that which is peculiar to Luke but stands in immediate connection with the sections first named—we discover a marked uniformity in general literary character. The narratives are all vividly told, surpassing in this respect even the vivid narratives of Mark, and in literary style reaching the high-water mark of this gospel. With this material it is natural to associate the other passage in Luke's Galilean ministry which is not

P = This is its common source.

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parallelled in Mark, viz., the sermon on the plain, or, if we may so call it, the Lukan version of the sermon on the mount. All the facts taken together suggest that in these passages, Luke 3:7-15, 17, 18; 4:2b-13 [14, 15] 16-30; 5:1-11; 6:20-49; 7:1-8:3, we have a gospel behind and within our present gospel.²¹ The only alternative supposition is that we are dealing here with fragments of tradition, or brief separate documents, and against this view may be urged alike economy of hypothesis and the general literary resemblance of the whole material.²² Having reference to the prevailing character of the content of this document, we may perhaps appropriately call it the Galilean Document, and refer to it by abbreviation as *G*.

15. Among the passages just discussed are, as already mentioned, two that take the place of similar narratives in Mark, not in the sense that they occupy corresponding positions, but that Luke, who alone inserts them, does not contain the different and differently placed accounts of similar events contained in Mark (and Matt.). This suggests the inquiry whether there are other instances of a similar proceeding on Luke's part. Examination discloses a number of such.

Thus, in addition to the two instances already named, it is to be observed that Luke, who tells in 7:36-50 the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon the Pharisee, omits the story of the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon the leper told in Mark 14:3-9 and Matt. 26:6-13; relating in 22:24-27 Jesus' rebuke of the ambition of the disciples, he omits the partly similar account which Mark has in 10:35-45; and giving in 11:14-36 an account of the casting out of a demon and the charge of the Pharisees that Jesus cast out demons by Beelzebub, he omits the account which Mark gives in 3:22-29; narrating in 10:25-37 the answer of Jesus to the question of the lawyer, he omits the similar conversation with a lawyer recorded in Mark 12:28-34 and Matt. 22:34-40, though retaining certain phrases of Mark's account. In the two cases first mentioned Luke and Mark both assign their respective narratives to the Galilean ministry (though not to identical places in that period); in the last three cases the two similar events or narratives are assigned to distinctly different periods. The first of the three Luke places in the Galilean ministry, Mark in the passion week; the second Luke places in the passion week, Mark in the Perea.

²¹ Mr. Badham was, I believe, the first to call attention to the relation of these narratives to one another. He believed them to constitute the original Petrine gospel of Mark, no part of which he held is contained in our present Mark. See his *Formation of the Gospels*, first edition.

²² There is not lacking a hint that there was in this lost book still other material additional to that now found in Luke. Returning to the narratives which apparently displace similar accounts in Mark, we may notice that, while the narratives common to Mark and Luke are almost without exception in the same order in the two gospels, the relation of Mark and Luke being in this respect in marked contrast with the relation of Mark and Matt., yet in those instances in which Luke gives a distinct account of what is apparently the same event as that narrated by Mark, he gives it also a different position. This fact is not only an indication that in these cases Luke is not simply

expanding and embellishing the narrative of Mark, but is strong evidence that the narratives did not come to him as detached pieces. Their position, different from that of the sections which they displace, can only be accounted for on the assumption that they had a place in the source from which they were taken. But since, of course, place in this case is not absolute but relative, *i. e.*, consists in being after or before some other event—it is again strongly suggested that this lost source had some of the Mark events in relation to which they are set by Luke. If this be so, then it follows that Luke has not reproduced the whole of this book, but that, as is in itself intrinsically probable, he has in some cases preferred Mark to his other source, just as he has in these cases preferred the other source to Mark. But it will be evident that for order and general structure he has built chiefly on the lines laid down by Mark.

Q = document, used by Luke alone? No, by
But also, see p 49.

period; the third Luke places in the Perean period, Mark in the Galilean. It is very significant that while Matthew's account of this event occupies approximately the same position as Mark's, between the message from John the Baptist and the visit of Jesus' kindred to him, and is in considerable part verbally almost identical with Mark's account, yet it is also in other portions as closely like the account which we possess in Luke. It is perfectly clear that Matt. and Luke drew from a common source other than Mark, and scarcely less so that Matt. drew from Mark also. Whether Luke drew from this common source only (which in that case must have had some verbal similarity to Mark, but not enough to imply common literary origin), or, like Matthew, used Mark also, is not perfectly certain.

But there are still other facts to indicate a disposition on Luke's part to avoid including similar narratives even when contained in the same source. Thus the gospel of Mark, which, we have found reason to believe, was his chief source, contains an account of the feeding of the five thousand, and also of the feeding of the four thousand. But Luke, having given the first of these two similar accounts, omits the second one. Along with it, indeed, he omits also all the events which Mark includes between the two narratives of miraculous feeding, and the section immediately following the second one, concerning the sign from heaven. Now, the two chief sayings in the passage just referred to, Mark 8:10-21, Luke has in his Perean section. Mark 8:12 has its parallel in Luke 11:29; 8:14 in Luke 12:1. Does this perhaps account for the omission of this section at this point? There is, at any rate, one other similar case that seems to confirm this supposition. Luke, having given in 16:18 in one sentence the teaching of Jesus concerning divorce, omits the whole passage which Mark has in 10:2-12. Whether the explanation suggested for these last two cases be correct or not, and however we may account for the omission of the events which in Mark lie between the feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand, it must be evident that Luke avoided in general repeating similar narratives, whether found in the same or different sources, and that in omitting these apparent duplicates he did not give the preference uniformly to any one source.²³

16. These facts, which seem to indicate a peculiarity of Luke's method of using his sources, suggest the possibility of gaining some light upon our problem by a dis-

²³The omission of the walking on the water, Mark 6:47-56, may perhaps be due to its similarity to the stilling of the tempest, which at 8:22-25 he had already taken from Mark 4:35-41. Of the omission of the material contained in Mark, chap. 7, I can suggest no explanation other than the not wholly satisfactory one that, finding in the feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand narratives that he regarded as duplicates, and in the material immediately following each of these what he also wished to omit because of its similarity to material already included, or which he intended to include, he omitted the whole block, from Mark 6:47 to 8:21. It would still remain necessary to account for the omission of Mark 8:22-26. That this is neither in Matt. nor in Luke suggests the possibility that it was not present in the copy of Mark

which the other evangelists used; in other words, that the original Mark was not quite identical with the present Mark. And this in turn raises the question whether the whole of Mark 6:47 (or 45) to and including 8:26 may possibly have been lacking in Luke's copy of Mark. Concerning the general view of a primitive Mark see above, pp. 24-26.

There are but three significant instances in which Luke has retained two similar narratives. These are (a) the sending out of the Twelve, 9:1-6, and the sending out of the Seventy, 10:1-16; (b) the healing of the leper, 5:12-16, and of the ten lepers, 17:11-19; (c) Jesus' prediction of his death and resurrection, 9:22-27; 9:43-45; 18:31-34. But in none of these instances is the similarity of the two narratives such as to suggest identity of the events.

covery of like peculiarities on the part of the first evangelist. A survey of the gospels in parallelism discloses two facts that seem to be of importance. The first of these is the condensed character of Matthew's narrative at certain points as compared with the accounts in the other gospels. Examples of shortening or condensation as compared with Mark are found in all the following sections:

A day in Capernaum :	Mark 1:21-34	Matt. 8:14-17.
Healing of a leper :	Mark 1:40-45	Matt. 8:1-4.
Healing of a paralytic :	Mark 2:1-12	Matt. 9:1-8
The Gerasene demoniac :	Mark 5:1-20	Matt. 8:28-34.
Jairus's daughter :	Mark 5:21-43	Matt. 9:18-26.
Rejection at Nazareth :	Mark 6:1-6a	Matt. 13:54-58.
Death of John the Baptist :	Mark 6:14-29	Matt. 14:1-12.
Feeding of the five thousand :	Mark 6:30-46	Matt. 14:13-23.
Eating with unwashed hands :	Mark 7:1-23	Matt. 15:1-20. ²⁴

In the few instances in which the narrative of Matt. is longer than Mark's, this arises from the addition of some saying of Jesus, or of some comment of the evangelist, the latter sometimes in the form of a reference to the fulfilment of prophecy.²⁵

In the few narratives that are common to Matt. and Luke only, the relation of Matthew's account to Luke's is in general the same as to Mark's in the cases above enumerated. Thus in the story of the centurion's servant (Matt. 8:5-13; Luke 7:1-10), the narrative in Matt. is but two-thirds of the length of that in Luke, the apparent equality of the accounts being due to the inclusion by Matt. (vss. 11, 12) of certain *sayings* of Jesus found in Luke's Perean section (13:28, 29). In the story of the message from the Baptist (Matt. 11:2-19; Luke 7:18-35), the narrative in Matt. is again shorter than Luke's by the omission of the latter's vss. 20, 21, this shortage in narrative being balanced in quantity by the inclusion of sayings of Jesus in vss. 12-15, in part parallel to a passage in Luke's Perean section (16:16), in part parallel to Mark 9:12, interpreted as Matt. 17:13 shows that this evangelist understood it of John the Baptist, but perhaps derived from the independent sources of Matt. In the narrative of Jesus' answer to the disciples (Matt. 8:19-22; Luke 9:57-61), the narrative of Matt. is shorter by the omission of the story of the third disciple. It is particularly instructive to compare the relation of the Matt. and Luke narratives in the story of the centurion's servant with that of the Matt. and Mark accounts in the record of the raising of Jairus's daughter. In both cases the abbreviation of the Matt. story is due chiefly to his omission of the part taken by the agent of the principal person, and the ascription directly to the centurion in the one case, the ruler of the synagogue in the other, of that which in the parallel narrative is said to have been done for him by others. Now, aside from the fact that there is nothing in Matthew's narrative in either case to tempt to expansion by the introduction of an agent to act for the centurion and the ruler, it is certainly far more probable that the mind of one

²⁴ In this case Matt. also adds vss. 12-14.

²⁵ See Mark 1:14, 15 = Matt. 4:12-17; Mark 2: 23-28 = Matt. 12:1-8; Mark 6:47-52 = Matt. 14:24-33.

writer should act in the same way in respect to both his sources (in both cases, that is, condensing by omitting the agent) than that two writers (Mark and Luke) should independently pursue the same course toward different narratives in the one source (Matt.). And this probability becomes still greater when we take into account the whole list of sections in which the narrative of Matt. is shorter than that of Mark, on the one hand, or of Luke, on the other. Economy of hypothesis, and the principle that that form of narrative is secondary which can be accounted for by the observed tendency of the writer, are decidedly in favor of attributing to Matt. condensation of both his sources, rather than reversing it and attributing to both Mark and Luke expansion. And this again is still further strengthened by observing that Luke's tendency, as seen in narratives common to Mark and Luke, is to condensation (less marked than in the case of Matt.) rather than to expansion.

12 86-37
2-53
10

The second characteristic of Matt. as compared with Mark and Luke has already been referred to, viz., his tendency not only to combine discourse material together into large discourses, but to include in narrative sections, parallel to Mark or Luke, sayings of Jesus not found in the parallel accounts, sometimes with brief narrative introductions also peculiar to him. Instances of this (most of which have already been mentioned) may be seen in 3:14, 15; 8:11, 12; 9:13a; 11:12-15, 28-30; 12:5-7, 11, 12a, ~~22-37~~; 15:12-14, 23, 24; 16:17-19; 19:10-12, 28; 20:1-16; 21:14-16, 28-32, 43; 22:1-14.) Of these passages, eighteen in number, nine are in the midst of narratives given by all three evangelists. That neither Mark nor Luke contains them points, of course, in the direction of the explanation of them as additions by Matt. rather than as omissions by Mark and Luke from sources possessed by them. The other nine cases, though not directly supporting this view, are in no way opposed to it.

It remains to consider briefly those elements of Matthew and Luke that have not been discussed.

17. Matt. has a comparatively small number of narrative passages, besides those in the infancy period, which are not paralleled in either of the other gospels. Some of them are brief complete narratives, others add details to narratives found in one or both of the other gospels. The list is as follows: removal to Capernaum, 4:13;²⁶ Peter's attempt to walk on the water, 14:28-31; details of the transfiguration, 17:6, 7; the repentance and death of Judas, 27:3-10; Pilate's washing of his hands, 27:24, 25; the resurrection of the saints, 27:51b-53; the sealing of the tomb, 27:62-66; the report of the watch, 28:11-15, X

To these it might seem necessary to add the introduction to the sermon on the mount, 4:23-25; the introduction to the missionary discourse, 9:35-37; and the healing of two blind men and the dumb demoniac, 9:27-34. But upon examination the first two of these passages are found to bear all the marks of being conflations, the first of material derived from different passages of Mark, the second of material

²⁶ Perhaps derived from Mark 1:21; 2:1.

x The appearance of Jesus on a mountain in the Galilee 28:16-28 which, however, may be based in part on Luke in its original form. (added to notes)

derived from Mark and the Porean section of Luke. Thus Matt. 4:23-25 is substantially paralleled in Mark 1:39, 28, 32-34; 3:7, 8; and Matt. 9:35-37 in Mark 6:6, 12, 13, 34. Such conflation points to the derivative character of this gospel. The expression *διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν*, occurring in both these summaries, is apparently the writer's general phrase to describe the work of Jesus, its language being his own, the idea being furnished by the passages above referred to as his sources. It is not impossible that in the light of these passages 15:30, 31 should be regarded simply as a summary composed by the evangelist. As respects the two narratives composing 9:27-34, these are probably to be regarded as duplicates of the accounts appearing in 12:22 ff., and 20:29-34.

The editorial remarks of the first evangelist, including his references to the fulfilment of prophecy, call for no comment.

18. Of the passages peculiar to Luke all have already been considered except those that are found in the passion and resurrection history. It will suffice simply to point out that in this portion of Luke there are the following passages of which there are no parallels in the other gospels:

Additions to the story of the triumphal entry:	19:37, 39-44;
Additions to the story of the last supper:	22:15-17, 24-30;
Additions to Christ's last conversation with the disciples:	22:31-33, 35-38;
Gethsemane, mainly an independent account: most of	22:39-46;
Variant account of the condemnation of Jesus by the Jews:	22:66-67; - 68
Additions to the story of the trial before Pilate:	23:2, 4-16;
Additional incidents of the crucifixion:	23:27-32, 36, 37, 39-43;
Independent story of the resurrection morning:	24:3-5a, 6b, 7-11;
Walk to Emmaus:	24:13-35;
Appearance in Jerusalem:	24:36-43;
Ascension:	24:44-53. <i>in which Text is seen</i>

It is a very notable fact that, while Matt. and Luke each have in their Jerusalem period considerable material not found in Mark, they have no such material in common.²⁷ This fact clearly indicates that the sources additional to Mark from which Matt. and Luke drew were not, as in the John the Baptist period and the Galilean ministry, the same, but quite distinct.

The preface and other editorial remarks of Luke require no special discussion.

If now we re-enumerate the separate sources or strata of material which we have

²⁷ To this statement there are but two exceptions, these perhaps only apparently so. Matt. 21:44 is clearly parallel to Luke 20:18. There is, however, sufficient documentary evidence for the omission of the verse in Matt. (D. 33, a, b, e, ff.,¹ 2 Or, omit; ~~NBCXZΔII~~ unc¹⁰ etc. include it), to lead Tischendorf, in view of it and the internal evidence furnished by the evident appearance of harmonistic corruption, to omit the verse, and Treg. and WH. to bracket it. Weiss argues for its genuineness. Luke 22:30 is parallel to Matt. 19:28, the usual relation being in this case

reversed, a passage which Matt. has in the Porean period being found in Luke's passion week. Were there many such instances, they would be fatal to some of the positions maintained in this paper. But the comparison of these verses with their respective contexts renders it probable that in this case as in several others (cf. Mark 3:22 ff. with Luke 11:15 ff.; and Mark 4:30-32 with Luke 13:18, 19; Mark 9:42 with Luke 17:2; and Mark 12:39 with Luke 11:43); substantially the same saying of Jesus was contained in two independent documents.

seemed to discover lying behind Matt. and Luke—that is, of one or both of them—and for convenience of reference indicate again the contents of each, we have the following list:

MAJOR SOURCES

1. The gospel of Mark, substantially as we now possess it.
2. The special Matthean source, probably the Logia of Matthew spoken of by Papias, consisting of substantially the following portions of Matt.: 3:14, 15; 5:4, 7–10, 13a, 14, 16, 17, 19–24, 27, 28, 31, 33–39a, 41, 43; 6:1–7, 10b, 13b, 15, 16–18, 34; 7:6, 12b, 15, 22; 9:13a; 10:5, 6, 8b, 23, 25b, 36, 41; 11:28–30; 12:5–7, 11, 12a, 34; 13:14, 15, 24–30, 35–53; 15:12–14, 23, 24; 16:17–19; 17:24–27; 18:4, 10, 14, 16–20, 23–34; 19:10–12, 28; 20:1–15; 21:14–16, 28–32, 43; 22:1–14; 23:2, 3, 5, 7b–10, 15–22, 24, 28, 32; 24:10–12, 30a; 25:1–11a, 13, 14–46; 26:52, 53 (M).²⁸
3. The Perean document, consisting of Luke 9:57–18:14; 19:1–28, portions of it being contained also in the record of the Galilean ministry and passion week of Matt. (P).
4. The Galilean document found in Luke 3:7–15, 17, 18; 4:2b–13 [14, 15], 16–30; 5:1–11; 6:20–49; 7:1–8:3 (G).

MINOR SOURCES

5. The infancy story of Matt.—Matt., chaps. 1, 2.
6. The infancy story of Luke—Luke, chaps. 1, 2 (except 1:1–4).
7. Other narratives peculiar to Matt.
8. The narratives peculiar to Luke, and not included in 2, 3, or 6, viz., his additions to Mark's narrative of the passion week and resurrection story.

All the major sources were beyond doubt written. Of the minor sources, 6 gives internal evidence, which it is not necessary to state here at length, of having existed in writing before being taken up into the gospel. The other minor sources may perhaps not have been reduced to writing before their incorporation in our gospels.

It is a legitimate question, and one that demands consideration, whether each of the eight sources is really distinct, or whether two or more may not have been parts of one document. From this discussion Mark is, of course, excluded by the fact that we actually possess it and know its extent. That G and P were parts of one is an obvious suggestion, but one which is not sustained by the evidence. Against it is the fact that Matt. has treated these two sources so differently, using G with only that degree of freedom with which he also used Mark, *i. e.*, condensing accounts, and transposing events to some extent within the same general period, yet not transgressing the limits of the period, but employing P almost exclusively as a source from which to draw discourse material to enrich the great discourses, and always placing this material both in a different connection and in a different period from that in which Luke has given it

²⁸On purely internal grounds one would perhaps refer source 7; but for such reference there is no objective 16:17–19; 17:24–27; 19:28; 22:7; 26:52, 53 to the minor ground.

to us. This renders it probable that the documents were not one, but two; *G* having some marks by which to indicate to what period its events belonged, *P* being without such marks. The name *Perean* therefore is correct only as a term of convenience derived from the position in which the document as we have it stands in Luke.

Against the combination of *P* and *M* are several reasons: (a) It would be difficult, not to say impossible, to explain why Luke should have omitted so large a part of that which the document must in that case have contained, viz., the whole of that discourse material which is peculiar to Matt. and which on this hypothesis was contained in a document which Luke had in his hands. For the combined document must have been either *P* with *M* scattered through it, or *P* with *M* prefixed or added to it. In the former case, Luke must simply have torn out all these sections; in the latter case, the document would have been *M* + *P* or *P* + *M*, and Luke must have cut off *M*; in either case with no motive that can be discovered. For Matthew's omissions from *P* there is a natural explanation, in that his interest was in discourse material, and that, having taken Mark as his basal narrative, he used both *M* and *P* to build up the discourses, the starting-point of which he found in Mark or in *G*. But for Luke's omission of the whole of the *M* material there is no explanation consistent with his general method of employing his sources. (b) Since *P* and *M* were *ex hypothesi* one, Luke must have had both in one, and this supposition deprives us of that explanation of the traditional name of our first gospel which is furnished by the supposition that they were separate and that *M* was taken up into the first gospel only. (c) *M* alone corresponds much better to the description given by Papias of the (original) gospel of Matt. than does the supposed combination of *M* and *P*. (d) It is difficult on this hypothesis to explain the way in which Matt. has built up his version of the sermon on the mount. If he possessed *G* and another source which combined *P* and *M*, two methods of procedure are possible. First, *G* may have contained the discourse as we now have it in Luke 6:20-49; on the basis of this, Matt. may have built up that discourse which we find in Matt., chaps. 5-7, when we subtract the passages found in Luke's *Perean* section and in Mark, and then have added this latter material. In that case the same writer has from the same sources first constructed an orderly, well-planned discourse, and then has marred its structure by additions from the same source. Secondly, he may have found in his *Perean*-Matthean document a discourse like that just supposed, Matt., chaps. 5-7, minus the material paralleled in Luke's *Perean* portion and in Mark. In this case he must have marred the unity of this discourse by transferring to it material from another part of the same document. This is not impossible but it is distinctly more complicated and less probable than that the partially incongruous material came from different sources.

The hypothesis that *G* and *M* were in reality one is open to substantially the same objections as those just stated against the view of the unity of *P* and *M*. It fails to account for Luke's omission of all that large portion of the combined document which is peculiar to Matt.; it fails to account for the name of the first gospel; it is not

accordant with the testimony of Papias, and it complicates the explanation of the sermon on the mount as found in Matt. This fourth objection assumes now, however, a slightly different form. The hypothesis that *G* and *M* were one involves the supposition either that this document contained two versions of the sermon on the mount, which is certainly improbable, or that it contained a version on which both the existing versions were based, modified in Matthew's case, of course, in part by the addition of material from the Porean document, and in part from Mark. We have already had occasion to observe the improbability of this hypothesis.

A further reason might perhaps be urged against the combination of *G* and *P*, but clearly holds against the union of *G* and *M*, viz., the clear difference of literary character between the two elements. *G* is chiefly made up of narratives, distinguished for their vividness and fulness of detail. *M* is composed of sayings of Jesus without narrative introduction, so far as the use of them in Matt. indicates, many of them aphoristic and poetic in form. It is certainly more probable that material so different in character and so differently treated by the evangelists constituted separate documents than that they were parts of one and the same document.

On the whole, therefore, the hypothesis of the separateness of these three documents is more probable than that any two of them were constituent parts of a single document.

Respecting possible combination of the minor sources with one another, or with any of the major sources, a few remarks will suffice.

The combination of the infancy narrative of Matt., or of the other narratives peculiar to him, with any source used by Luke is rendered improbable, especially as respects the infancy period, and the passion week, and the resurrection story, by the absence of any influence of these portions of Matthew's sources upon Luke. The possibility of simple non-use can never be disproved, but all the evidence is against it.

For like reasons the combination of Luke's narrative of the infancy, or of his special narratives of the passion week and the resurrection story, with any source used by Matt., is improbable.

A combination of the infancy narrative of Matt. with the narratives peculiar to him in other parts of the gospel can neither be proved nor disproved. Considerations of style and purpose are somewhat against it.

A combination of Luke's infancy narrative with his special material at the end of the gospel is practically excluded by the long interval between them and the marked difference in style.

The most serious question is whether the narratives peculiar to Matt. are from the same source as the discourse material peculiar to him. Are *M* and the minor sources 5 and 7 parts of the same source? Objective tests fail. All three groups of material are alike in that they are absent from Mark and Luke. The argument from style would certainly favor diversity of source, so far at least as to distinguish the dis-

*not work out
for nothing.*

course material from the narrative material. If to these be added the wide difference in intrinsic character and spirit between the discourses and the narratives, the former generally conceded to constitute probably the oldest stratum of evangelic material, the latter bearing marks of being the very latest, the infancy story having exerted no influence on the Pauline literature, or indeed on any extant document that can be dated earlier than the gospels of Matt. and Luke themselves, and such narratives as the resurrection of the saints (27:52-53)²⁹ strongly suggesting remoteness from the events, there can scarcely remain room to doubt that we have in the discourses (*M*) a document distinct from the narratives peculiar to Matt. and of older date than these.

The result, therefore, of the attempt to combine the different sources enumerated on p. 49 is negative. The preponderance of probability is on the side of leaving the list as it was first given, and of resolving the *x* of our hypothesis Y (p. 34) into seven elements. *I.e. 7 sources beside Mark.*

But it must now be observed that the facts on the basis of which we have reached this result are of value also for the strengthening of the argument by which we excluded other hypotheses.

Thus the facts stated under 11 and 18, by showing the different relation of Matt. to different portions of Luke, and the mutual exclusiveness of their additions to Mark in the latter part of the gospel, are against any hypothesis that makes Matt. dependent on Luke as it now stands; *i. e.*, against B, E, I, J, R, S, T, U. The facts stated under 11, 13, 14, and 18 make against any hypothesis which makes Luke dependent on Matt. and in favor of the dependence of Matt. on Mark and some source of Luke; *i. e.*, against A, C, G, K, O, P, Q, V. The facts stated under 11, 13, 14, and 18 are strongly against N. The complexity and at the same time uniformity of the relations of the several gospels could never be explained by assuming a single document as their common source; and if *x* be resolved into several elements, the theory is no longer the same. These facts are for the same reason opposed to M; and if *x* be resolved into elements, as has, *e. g.*, been done by Arthur Wright, then, in view of the close resemblances of the gospels to one another both in order of events and in language, each of the elements of *x* becomes in effect a document, only *ex hypothesi* committed to memory instead of written down. The facts stated under 15 somewhat strengthen the argument in favor of making Mark a source of Luke, and those under 16 are in favor of making Mark a source of Matt.; *i. e.*, against C, D, E, F, G, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, and in favor of H; or, since that has been shown to be inadequate, in favor of Y.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to which our whole study has led may then be summarized as follows:

1. Our Mark, or a document in large part identical with it, was employed as a source of both our first and third gospels.

²⁹ Concerning Matt. 17:24-27 and other narratives introducing sayings of Jesus, see note 28.

2. Matt. and Luke also possessed in common a document which contained substantially the material standing in Luke 3:7-15, 17, 18; 4:2b-13 [14, 15], 16-30; 5:1-11; 6:20-49; 7:1—8:3; herein referred to as the Galilean document (*G*). ↗

3. Matt. and Luke also had a document in whole or in part identical with Luke 9:51—18:14 and 19:1-28, which, however, they used in very different ways; herein referred to as the Perean document (*P*). ↗

4. Matt. also had a document not employed by Luke, chiefly or wholly made up of discourse material. This is presumably the Logia of Matt. spoken of by Papias (*M*). ↗

5. Additional minor sources there must also have been, the first and third evangelists having (in the main) different ones, as is illustrated in the case of the infancy narratives and the almost wholly independent additions to Mark's account in the passion and resurrection history.

6. Thus the sources of Matt. are the Matthean Logia, Mark, the Galilean document, and the Perean document, besides certain minor sources. In his employment of these sources the first evangelist gave the chief place to Mark and the Matthean Logia, employing the Galilean document for illustrative purposes, and the Perean document for enrichment of the discourses the basis of which was found in the Logia or in Mark.

7. Luke has the same chief sources as Matt., with the exception of the Matthean Logia. In his use of them he made Mark the basis, interpolated material from the Galilean document, omitting Mark's similar narratives when they seemed to him less full and vivid; added the Perean document in two solid sections, making the junction with Mark in such way that the arrival at Jericho indicated in this document should synchronize with that recorded by Mark.

Each of the two later evangelists pursued a consistent and easily intelligible method in the use of the sources, but each his own method.

8. The agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in triple narrative which are scattered through the gospels are an unexplained remainder. To make them determinative for the whole theory is, however, to set the pyramid on its apex. The line between editorial revision and scribal corruption was probably not so sharply drawn in fact as our rigid discrimination between higher and lower criticism would suggest. There are many indications that the one class of phenomena shade into the other. This unexplained remainder probably owes its origin to causes that belong to the border line between editorial revision and scribal corruption, or else to some slight influence of one of these gospels in its final form on the mind of the writer of the other.

9. The question of sources behind the above enumerated sources, in particular the sources behind Mark and the Perean document, remains to be investigated. For lack of documents to compare, the methods by which this problem must be solved must be to a considerable extent different from those by which the results of this paper have been reached.

APPENDIX

TABLE EXHIBITING THE PARALLELISM OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS³⁰

The following table is intended to show the parallelism of the synoptic gospels as fully as can be done without actually printing the text. It aims to do this with the least possible disarrangement of the order of the material as it stands in the gospels. The principles on which it is constructed are the following:

1. A distinction is made between parallel sections and parallel passages in non-parallel sections.

Parallel sections are those which report what is shown, either by position and similarity of content, or by close literary similarity of component material, to be kindred reports of the same event or discourse. Discourses basally the same and similarly located are treated as parallel, however different in extent. On the other hand, narratives that are at the same time differently located and so different in form or content as to indicate that they are of diverse literary origin are not treated as constituting parallel sections, even though the general similarity of the accounts renders it probable that the events recorded are really the same. Thus Luke 4:16-30 is distinguished from Mark 6:1-6, and Luke 11:14-36 from Mark 3:22-30, because in each case what were evidently in the sources two different accounts are by the different evangelists differently located. On the other hand, Matt. 12:22-45 and Mark 3:22-30 are treated as parallel sections, because the two are basally the same, and similarly treated; and Matt. 8:19-22 and Luke 9:57-60 are identified because though differently placed the two accounts are practically identical.

Parallel passages are those which express the same thought. As here employed, the term covers passages resembling one another in all degrees from identity of thought and words to similarity of thought with almost entire dissimilarity of language.

2. The length of the sections has been determined by the unity of the event or discourse. In this matter there is, of course, room for difference of judgment.

3. In order of sections Mark has been followed for all sections that this gospel contains. This procedure seems required by the fact that the other two gospels, each agreeing with Mark in a large majority of instances and each sometimes departing from his order, never agree against him in such departure.

4. Sections standing in Luke only and between sections paralleled in Mark, are placed in the position assigned them by Luke.

5. Sections standing in Matt. only, and between sections paralleled in Mark, are placed in the position assigned them by Matt.

6. Sections common to Matt. and Luke and not found in Mark are placed in the position given them by Luke, except in the case of the genealogies, which are put in the Matt. position. This general preference of Luke over Matt. is suggested by the fact that Luke evidently in general follows his sources in the matter of position, while Matt. as evidently rearranges under the influence of topical considerations.

7. When, as in the case of the infancy narratives, there are no parallel sections by which to determine the relative position of sections drawn from different gospels, the sections are located according to such internal indications of relation as the narratives furnish, the order of each evangelist being in all cases retained. For the purposes of this table the order of such sections is a matter of little importance.

³⁰ For the privilege of using in the present table certain facts and phraseology already employed in the tables in STEVENS AND BURTON'S *Harmony of the Gospels* I desire to express my thanks to my colleague, Professor William Arnold Stevens, D.D., of the Rochester Theological Seminary, and to our publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, of

New York. I have also to express my thanks to my colleague, Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed, and to my friend, Mr. John W. Bailey, Ph.D., for valuable assistance in the preparation and verification of this table and of other statistical matter in the body of the essay.

8. In the arrangement of the material within the section the same general principles have been followed. But in the story of the temptation the order of Matt. has been preferred to that of Luke. In the passion week Luke has been conformed to the order of Matt. and Mark, in accordance with the principle stated in 3.

9. To many portions of the sections arranged on these principles there are parallel passages in other sections, sometimes in the same gospel, more frequently in another gospel. Instead of transposing all such passages from the position given them by the evangelist, in the present table each is retained in the section in which it is included by the evangelist reporting it, and the fact that it has parallels elsewhere is indicated in the columns headed "Parallel Passages in Non-Parallel Sections." Over against each such passage, verse, or portion of a verse, of which there are in non-parallel sections parallels in thought or language exceeding a few words or brief phrase, there are placed in the right-hand columns references to the passages containing such parallels.

10. The full extent of each section is indicated by the figures in bold-face type. Whenever the two or more accounts differ materially in content, or when a portion of the section is paralleled in a non-parallel section, the passages cited in bold-face type are broken into parts indicated by the figures in light-face type, similar passages being placed opposite each other, passages peculiar to any one of the accounts standing without opposite references.

That the exhibit thus made of passages peculiar to each gospel, common to all three, or to any two of them, does not in all details correspond with the statistical statements made under Part II of the essay is due to several facts: (a) The table shows section divisions (printed in the table in bold-face type) which the statistics of the essay ignore. (b) The table cannot distinguish, as the essay does, between agreements *en bloc* and agreements of detail occurring in threefold or twofold matter. (c) The table cannot well exhibit peculiarities or agreements, even if important, which extend only to a very few words, or which are intimately entangled in the text of the passage. In general the table in its bold-face type exhibits the facts less minutely than the statistics of the essay, in its light-face type more minutely than the *en bloc* classifications of the essay, and less minutely than the statements of the essay respecting verbal agreement or peculiarities occurring in threefold matter.

PART I. THE INFANCY NARRATIVES

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
1. Luke's preface.....						
2. The genealogies.....	1:1-17	.....	1:1-4 3:23b-38			
	1:1					
	1:2-6a	.....	3:34b-38			
	1:6b-16	.....	3:31b-34a			
	1:17	.....	3:23b-31a			
3. Birth of John promised.....						
4. Annunciation to Mary.....						
5. Annunciation to Joseph.....	1:18-25 ²	.....	1:26-38 ¹			
6. Mary's visit to Elizabeth.....						
7. Birth of John the Baptist.....				1:39-56		
8. Birth of Jesus.....				1:57-80		
9. The angels and the shepherds.....				2:1-7		
10. The circumcision.....				2:8-20		
11. The presentation in the Temple.....				2:21		
12. Wise men from the East.....	2:1-12	.....	2:22-39			
13. Flight into Egypt.....	2:13-23	.....			
14. Childhood at Nazareth.....				2:40		
15. Visit to Jerusalem.....				2:41-50		
16. Eighteen yrs. at Nazareth.....				2:51,52		

¹ With Luke 1:31 *cf.* Matt. 1:21.

² With Matt. 1:21 *cf.* Luke 1:31. With Matt. 1:25a *cf.* Luke 2:7a. With Matt. 1:25b *cf.* Luke 2:21.

PART II. THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
17. Ministry of the Baptist...	3:1-12	1:1-8 1:1	3:1-20			
	3:1-3	1:2, 3	3:1-2a 3:2b, 4 3:5, 6			
	3:4	1:4	3:3			
	3:5, 6	1:5, 6				
	3:7-10	.....	3:7-9 3:10-15			
	3:11	1:7, 8	3:16			
	3:12	.....	3:17			
			3:18-20			
18. Baptism of Jesus.....	3:13-17	1:9-11	3:21, 22	14:3-5	6:17, 18	
	3:13	1:9				
	3:14, 15					
	3:16, 17	1:10, 11	3:21, 22			
19. The temptation.....	4:1-11	1:12, 13	4:1-13			
	4:1, 2	1:12, 13a	4:1, 2			
	.....	1:13b				
	4:3, 4	.....	4:3, 4			
	4:8-10	.....	4:5-8			
	4:5-7	.....	4:9-12			
	4:11	1:18c	4:13			

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
20. Departure to Galilee.....	4:12-17 4:12 4:13-16 4:17	1:14, 15 1:14a	4:14, 15 4:14a			
21. Rejection at Nazareth (Luke) .....	.....	1:14b, 15 ³	4:14b, 15			
22. Call of the four (Matt.-Mark)	4:18-22 4:18 4:19, 20 4:21, 22	1:16-20 1:16 1:17, 18 1:19, 20	.....	.....	.....	<i>Cf. 5:2 5:10b, 11</i>
23. A day in Capernaum.....	8:14-17 8:14a 8:14a 8:14b, 15 8:16 8:16b 8:17	1:21-34 1:21 1:22 1:23-28 1:29a 1:29b 1:30, 31 1:32 1:33 1:34a 1:34b	4:31-41 4:31 4:32 4:33-37 4:38a 4:38b 4:38b, 39 4:40a 4:40b 4:40c, 41a 4:41b 4:41c	.....	7:28b, 29	
24. A preaching tour in Galilee.....	4:23-25 4:23a	1:35-39 1:35-38 1:39	4:42-44 4:42, 43 4:44	.....	3:11	

³ Mark 1:14b, 15 contains 10 words not paralleled in Matt. or Luke, but too intricately combined with paralleled portions to be indicated in this table.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—Continued

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
The centurion's son— <i>Continued</i>	8:13a 8:13b	.....	7:10 7:11-17			
36. Raising of the widow's son			7:18-35			
37. Message from John the Baptist.....	11:2-30 11:2, 3	.....	7:18, 19 7:20, 21 7:22, 23			
	.....	.....	7:24-28			
	11:4-6	.....	7:29, 30			
	11:7-11	.....			
				
	11:12, 13	.....			
	11:14	.....			
	11:15	.....			13:9 13:43b	4:9 4:23
	11:16-19	.....	7:31-35			
	11:20	.....			
	11:21-23a	.....			
	11:23b	.....			
	11:24	.....			10:15	10:12 10:21
	11:25, 26	.....			28:18b	10:22a 10:22b
	11:27a	.....			
	11:27b	.....			
	11:28-30	.....			
38. Anointing of Jesus (Luke)			7:36-50			
39. A preaching tour, women accompanying.....			8:1-3			
40. Charges of casting out demons by Beelzebul.....	9:32-34 12:22-45	3:20-30 3:20, 21				
				
	9:32, 33a	.....			
	12:22, 23a	.....			
	9:33b	.....			
	12:23b	.....			
	9:34	3:22	.....		
	12:24	3:22	.....		
	12:25a	3:23a	.....		
	12:25b, 26	3:23b-26	.....		
	12:27, 28	.....	.....	
	12:29	3:27	.....		
	12:30	.....	.....	
	12:31, 32	3:28, 29	.....		
	12:30	3:30	.....		
	12:33	.....		7:16-18, 20 3:7b		6:43, 44 8:7b
	12:34a	.....			
	12:34b	.....			
	12:34c, 35 ⁵	.....				6:45 ^b
	12:36, 37	.....			
	12:38	.....			
	12:39a	.....		16:4a	8:12	11:16 11:29a
	12:39b	.....		16:4b	.....	11:29b
	12:40	.....				11:30 ⁶
	12:41	.....				11:32
	12:42	.....				11:31
	12:43-45a	.....				11:24-26
	12:45b	.....			
41. The kindred of Jesus.....	12:46-50	3:31-35	8:19-21			
	12:46-48a	3:31-33a	8:19-21a			
	12:48b, 49	3:33b, 34				
	12:50	3:35	8:21b			
42. Parables by the sea.....	13:1-53	4:1-34	8:4-18			
	13:1, 2	4:1				
	.....	.....	8:4a			
	13:3a	4:2	8:4b			
	13:3b-8	4:3-8	8:5-8a			
	13:9 (=13:43b)	4:9 (=4:23)	8:8b	11:15		
	13:10, 11	4:10, 11	8:9, 10a			
	13:13	4:12a	8:10b			
	c ^f . 13:15	4:12b				
	13:14, 15					

⁴ The verbal resemblance here is between Matt. and Mark only; Luke though parallel in thought is not so in language.

⁵ In transposed order: Matt. 12:34c = Luke 6:45b; Matt. 12:35 = Luke 6:45a.

⁶ But Matt. contains reference to the three days and nights, not found in Luke.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—Continued

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Parables by the sea—Continued						10:23, 24
13:16, 17	.....				
13:18-21a	4:13-17a	8:11-13				
13:21b	4:17b					
13:22, 23	4:18-20	8:14, 15				
.....	4:21	8:16	5:15			11:33
.....	4:22	8:17	10:26			12:2
.....	4:23 (see 4:9)					
.....	4:24a	8:18a	7:2b			6:38b
.....	4:24b	.....	25:29			19:26
13:12	4:25	8:18b				
.....	4:26-29					
13:24-30						
13:31, 32	4:30-32?	.....				13:18, 19 ⁷
13:33	.....	.....				13:20, 21
13:34	4:33, 34					
13:35-41						
13:42 (=13:50)	.....	.....				13:28
13:43a						
13:43b (=13:9)						
13:44-49						
13:50 (=13:42)						
13:51-53						
43. The stilling of the tempest	8:18, 23-27	4:35-41	8:22-25			
	8:18, 23	4:35, 36a	8:22			
	.....	4:36b				
	8:24	4:37	8:23			
	.....	4:38a				
	8:25-27	4:38b-41	8:24, 25			
44. The Gerasene demoniac ..	8:28-34	5:1-20	8:26-39			
	8:28	5:1-3a	8:26, 27			
	.....	5:3b-5	8:29b			
		5:6	8:28a			
	8:29	5:7	8:28b			
	.....	5:8	8:29a			
		5:9, 10	8:30, 31			
	8:30-34a	5:11-15a	8:32-35a			
	.....	5:15b, 16	8:35b, 36			
	8:35b	5:17	8:37a			
	.....	5:18-20	8:37b-39			
45. The daughter of Jairus...	9:18-26	5:21-43	8:40-56			
	.....	5:21	8:40			
	9:18-20a	5:22-25	8:41-43a			
	.....	5:26a	8:43b			
		5:26b, 27a				
	9:20b	5:27b	8:44a			
	9:21	5:28				
	.....	5:29-33	8:44b-47			
	9:22	5:34	8:48			
	.....	5:35-37	8:49-51			
	9:23-25	5:38-42a	8:52-54			
	.....	5:42b, 43	8:55, 56			
46. Rejection at Nazareth (Matt.-Mark.).....	13:54-58	6:1-6a				4:16a
	13:54a	6:1a	.....		
	.....	6:1b				
	13:54b	6:2a	.....			4:16b
	13:54c	6:2b	.....			4:22a
	13:55a	6:3a	.....			4:22b
	13:55b-57a	6:3b				
	13:57b	6:4	.....			4:24
	13:58	6:5, 6				
47. Mission of the Twelve ...	9:35-11:1	6:6-13	9:1-6			
	9:35a	6:6b				
	9:35b	.....		4:23		
	9:36	.....			6:34	
	9:37, 38	.....				10:2
	10:1	6:7	9:1			
	10:2-4	.....				3:16-19
						6:14-16

⁷This parable (the mustard seed) was evidently in both sources, Mark and *P*. Matthew's version is conflate. The parallelism of the two sources leads to the inclusion in Matt. of the parable of the leaven which in *P* immediately follows that of the mustard seed.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

⁸ Condensed.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Eating with unwashen hands— <i>Continued</i>	15: 3-6 15: 10, 11 15: 12-14a 15: 14b 15: 15-20	7: 8-13 7: 14, 15 7: 17-23	.....	.....	.....	6: 39
52. The Syrophenician woman.....	15: 21-28 15: 21 15: 22 15: 23, 24 15: 25 15: 26-28	7: 24-30 7: 24a 7: 24b 7: 25a 7: 25b, 26 7: 27a 7: 27b-30	.....	.....	.....
53. Return to the Sea of Galilee.....	15: 29-31 15: 29, 30 15: 31a 15: 31b	7: 31-37 7: 31, 32 7: 33-36 7: 37	.....	.....	.....
54. Feeding of the four thousand.....	15: 32-38	8: 1-9	.....	.....	.....
55. Demand for a sign from heaven.....	15: 39-16: 12 15: 39-16: 2a [16: 2b, 3] 16: 4a 16: 4b 16: 4c 16: 5 16: 6(=11b) 16: 7-11a 16: 11b(=6) 16: 12	8: 10-21 8: 10-12a 8: 12b 8: 13 8: 14 8: 15 8: 16-21	.....	12: 39a 12: 39b	.....	12: 54-56 11: 29a 11: 29b
56. The blind man near Bethsaida.....	.....	8: 22-26	.....	.....	.....
57. Peter's confession.....	16: 13-20 16: 13-16 16: 17-19a 16: 19b 16: 20	8: 27-30 8: 27-29 8: 30	9: 18-21 9: 18-20 9: 21	.....	18: 18	
58. Jesus foretells his death.....	16: 21-28 16: 21a 16: 21b 16: 22, 23 16: 24 16: 25 16: 26a 16: 26b 16: 27 16: 28	8: 31-9: 1 8: 31a 8: 31b 8: 32a 8: 32b, 33 8: 34 8: 35 8: 36 8: 37 8: 38 9: 1	9: 22-27 9: 22a 9: 22b 8: 32a 9: 23 9: 24 9: 25 9: 26 9: 27 9: 28	.....	.....	17: 25
59. The transfiguration	17: 1-13 17: 1-3 17: 4, 5 17: 6, 7 17: 8 17: 9 17: 10-12 17: 13	9: 2-13 9: 2-4 9: 5-7 9: 6 9: 8 9: 9 9: 10 9: 11-13	9: 28-36 9: 28-30 9: 31, 32 9: 33-35 9: 36a 9: 36b 9: 37 9: 38 10: 33	10: 38 10: 39	.....	14: 27 17: 33
60. The epileptic boy.....	17: 14-20 17: 14a 17: 14b, 15a 17: 16, 17 17: 15b 17: 18a 17: 18b 17: 18c	9: 14-29 9: 14a 9: 14b-16 9: 17, 18a 9: 18b, 19 9: 20 9: 21 9: 22a 9: 22b-24 9: 25a 9: 25b 9: 26a 9: 26b 9: 27	9: 37-43a 9: 37 9: 38, 39 9: 40, 41 9: 42a 9: 42b 9: 42c	.....	.....	12: 9

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—Continued

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
The epileptic boy—Continued			9:43a			
17:19		9:28		21:21		
17:20		.....	.....		11:22, 23	17:6
.....		9:29				
61. Jesus again foretells his death	17:22, 23	9:30-32	9:43b-45			
	17:22	9:30, 31a	9:43b, 44			
	17:23	9:31b				
		9:32	9:45			
62. The temple tax	17:24-27					
63. Discourse on humility	Chap. 18	9:33-50	9:46-50			
	18:1	9:33-35a	9:46, 47a			
	.....	9:35b	9:48c	{ 20:26, 27		
	18:2	9:36	9:47b	{ 23:11	10:43, 44	22:26
	18:3	.....	.....		10:15	18:17
	18:4	.....	.....	
	18:5	9:37a	9:48a	10:40a		10:16a
		9:37b	9:48b	10:40b		10:16b
		9:38, 39a	9:49, 50a			
		9:39b				
		9:40	9:50b			
		9:41	.....	10:42		
	18:6	9:42	.....			17:2
	18:7	.....	.....			17:1
	18:8	9:43, 45	.....	5:30		
	18:9	9:47	.....	5:29		
		9:48, 49	.....		
		9:50a	.....			14:34a
		9:50b	.....	5:13b		14:34b
		9:50c	.....		
	18:10	.....	.....	
	18:12, 13	.....	.....			15:4, 5, 7b
	18:14	.....	.....	
	18:15	.....	.....			17:3
	18:16, 17	.....	.....	
	18:18	.....	.....	16:19b		
	18:19, 20	.....	.....	
	18:21, 22	.....	.....	
	18:23-34	.....	.....	
	18:35	.....	.....	6:15	11:25	

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
64. Departure from Galilee...	19:1	10:1	9:51-56			
	19:1	10:1	9:51-56			
65. Answer to disciples	8:19-22	9:57-62	9:57-60a			
	8:19-22	.....	9:60b-62			
66. Mission of the Seventy...	.....	.....	10:1-24			
	.....	.....	10:1			
	.....	.....	10:2	9:37, 38		
	.....	.....	10:3	10:16a		
	.....	.....	10:4a	10:9, 10a	6:8, 9	9:3
	.....	.....	10:4b			
	.....	.....	10:5, 6	10:12, 13		
	.....	.....	10:7a			
	.....	.....	10:7b	10:10b		
	.....	.....	10:7c, 8			
	.....	.....	10:9	10:7, 8a		
	.....	.....	10:10, 11	10:14		9:2
	.....	.....	10:12	{ 10:15	6:11	9:5
				{ 11:24		

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—Continued

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Mission of the Seventy— <i>Continued</i>	10:13-15 10:16a 10:16b 10:17, 18 10:19 10:20 10:21 10:22 10:23, 24 10:25-37 ⁹ 10:38-42	11:21-23a 10:40a 18:5 10:40b 16:18	9:37a 9:37b	9:48a 9:48b
67. The good Samaritan.....	11:1-13	13:16, 17		
68. Visit to Martha and Mary.....	11:1 11:2 11:3, 4 11:5-8 11:9-11 11:12 11:13	6:9, 10a 6:11-13a		
69. Concerning prayer.....	7:7-10			
70. Discourse against the Pharisees.....	11:14-54	7:11		
	11:14	9:32, 33a 12:22, 23a		
	11:15	9:34 12:24	3:22	
	11:16	12:38		
	11:17a	12:25a		
	11:17b, 18	12:25b, 26	3:23b, 26	
	11:19, 20	12:27, 28		
	11:21, 22 ¹⁰	12:29	3:27	
	11:23	12:30		
	11:24-26	12:43-45a		
	11:27, 28a	12:39a 16:4a 12:39b 16:4b	8:12b	
	11:29a	12:40 ¹¹		
	11:29b	12:42		
	11:30 ¹¹	12:41		
	11:31	5:15	4:21	8:16
	11:32	6:22, 23		
	11:33			
	11:34, 35			
	11:36			
	11:37, 38			
	11:39-41	23:25, 26		
	11:42	23:23		
	11:43	23:6, 7	12:38, 39	20:46
	11:44	23:27		
	11:45, 46a			
	11:46b	23:4		
	11:47, 48	23:29, 31		
	11:49-51	23:34-36		
	11:52	23:13		
	11:53, 54			
71. Concerning trustfulness and watchfulness.....	Chap. 12 12:1a			
	12:1b	16:6 18:11b	8:15	
	12:2	10:26b	4:22	8:17
	12:3-6	10:27-29		
	12:7a	10:30		21:18
	12:7b, 8	10:31, 32		
	12:9	10:33	8:33	9:26
	12:10	12:31, 32	3:28, 29	
	12:11, 12	10:19, 20	13:11	21:14, 15
	12:13-21			
	12:22-29	6:25-31		

⁹ On 10:27 *cf.* Matt. 22:37, 38, and Mark 12:30, 31.¹⁰ Matthew and Mark, closely resembling one another verbally, are parallel to Luke in substance only.¹¹ But Matthew contains reference to the three days and three nights not found in Luke.

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Concerning trustfulness and watchfulness— <i>Continued</i>	12:30 12:31 12:32 12:33, 34 12:35-38 12:39, 40 12:41 12:42-46 12:47-49 12:50a 12:50b 12:51 12:52 12:53 12:54-56 12:57 12:58, 59 13:1-9	6:32 6:8 6:33 6:19-21 24:43, 44 24:45-51 10:34 10:35, 36 [16:2, 3] 10:38b, 39b		
72. Galileans slain by Pilate.....				
73. Woman healed on a sabbath.....				
74. Parables of the kingdom.....	13:10-17 13:18-21 13:18, 19 13:20, 21	13:31, 32 13:33	4:30-32	
75. Question whether few are saved.....	13:22-30 13:22, 23 13:24 13:25a 13:25b 13:26 13:27	7:13, 14 25:11b, 12 7:23 8:12 13:42 18:50 22:13 24:51 25:30 8:11 19:30 20:16		
76. Reply to warning against Herod.....	13:31-35 13:31-33 13:34, 35	23:37-39	10:31	
77. Discourse at table of a chief Pharisee.....	14:1-24 14:1-3a 14:3b 14:4 14:5 14:6-10 14:11 14:12-14 14:15-24 ¹²	12:12b 12:11 23:12	3:4	6:9
78. Discourse on counting the cost.....	14:25-35 14:25 14:26 14:27 14:28-33 14:34a 14:34b 14:35a 14:35b	10:37 10:38 16:24 9:50a 9:50b (note) 11:15 13:9 13:43b	8:34 9:23	
79. Parables of grace.....	Chap. 15 15:1-3 15:4, 5 15:6 15:7	18:12, 13a 18:13b	4:9 4:23	8:8b

¹² Apparently the same parable as Matt. 22:1-10, but a wholly independent version.

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Parables of grace— <i>Continued</i>.....	.....	.....	15:8-10 15:11-32 16:1-31			
80. Parables of warning.....	.....	.....	16:1-12 16:13 16:14, 15 16:16 16:17 16:18 16:19-31	6:24 11:12, 13 5:18 5:32 19:9		10:11
81. Concerning forgiveness and faith.....	.....	.....	17:1-10 17:1 17:2 17:3 17:4 17:5 17:6	18:7 18:6 18:15 18:21, 22	9:42	
82. The ten lepers.....	.....	.....	17:7-10			
83. The coming of the kingdom.....	.....	.....	17:11-19 17:20-18:8 17:20-22 17:23, 24 17:25-13 17:26, 27 17:28-32 17:33 17:34, 35 17:37a 17:37b 18:1-8	24:26, 27 16:21a 24:37-39	8:31a	9:22a
84. The Pharisee and the publican.....	.....	.....	18:9-14 18:9-14a 18:14b	10:39 16:25 24:40, 41	8:35	9:24
85. Concerning divorce.....	19:3-12	10:2-12		23:12		14:11
	19:3 19:7, 8 19:4-6 19:9	10:2 10:3-5 10:6-9 10:10 10:11 10:12				
86. Blessing little children.....	19:13-15	10:13-16	18:15-17 18:15, 16 18:17		18:3	
87. The rich young man.....	19:16-20:16	10:17-31 10:17-20 10:21a 10:21b-23 10:24 10:24-27a 10:27b, 28a 10:28b 10:29a 10:29b 10:30c 10:31	18:18-30 18:18-21 18:22-24 18:25-28 18:29, 30a 18:29, 30a 18:30b 18:31-33 18:34			22:30b
88. Prediction of crucifixion.....	20:17-19	10:32-34 10:32a 10:32b 10:32c-34	18:31-34			13:30
20:17a 20:17b-19						
89. Ambition of James and John.....	20:20-28	10:35-45 10:35-38a 10:38b 10:39a				12:50a

¹³ Cf. also Matt. 17:22; Mark 9:31; Luke 9:44; and Matt. 20:18; Mark 10:33; Luke 18:31.

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Ambition of James and John— <i>Continued</i>						12:50a
20:23b-25a	10:39b	.....				22:25, 26a
20:25b, 26a	10:40-42a	.....				22:26b; 9:48b
20:26b, 27	10:42b, 43a	.....				22:27b
20:28	10:43b, 44	.....			
	10:45	.....			
90. Bartimaeus healed.....	9:27-31	10:46-52	18:35-43			
{ 20:29-34						
{ 20:29-32a		10:46-49a	18:35-40a			
{ 9:27		10:49b, 50				
9:28						
20:32b, 33	10:51	18:40b, 41				
{ 20:34a						
{ 9:29a						
9:29b	10:52a	18:42				
{ 20:34b						
{ 9:30a		10:52b	18:43a			
			18:43b			
	9:30b, 31					
91. Zacchaeus.....			19:1-10			
92. Parable of the mines.....			19:11-28			
			19:11			
			19:12, 13			
			19:14-16		25:14	
			19:17		25:21, 23	
			19:18, 19			
			19:20-25		25:24-28	
			19:26	{ 25:29		
			19:27, 28	{ 13:12	4:25	8:18b

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
93. Triumphal entry.....	21:1-11	11:1-11	19:29-44			
21:1-3	11:1-3	19:29-31				
21:4, 5						
21:6	11:4	19:32				
	11:5, 6	19:33, 34				
21:7, 8	11:7, 8	19:35, 36				
		19:37				
21:9a	11:9a					
21:9b	11:9b, 10	19:38				
		19:39-44				
21:10a	11:11a					
21:10b, 11	11:11b					
94. Cursing of the fig tree....	21:18, 19	11:12-14				
21:18, 19a	11:12, 13a					
	11:13b					
21:19b	11:14					
21:12-17	11:15-19	19:45-48				
21:12a	11:15a	19:45				
21:12b	11:15b					
	11:16					
21:13	11:17	19:46				
	11:18a	19:47				
	11:18b			22:33		
21:14-16			19:48			
21:17	11:19					
21:20-22	11:20-25					21:37a
	11:20					
21:20	11:21					
21:21	11:22, 23			17:20		17:6

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—Continued

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Lesson from the fig tree— Continued	21:22	11:24 11:25	.....	6:14, 15 18:35		
97. Jesus' authority challenged.....	21:23-27	11:27-33	20:1-8			
98. Parables of warning.....	21:28-22:14 21:28-32 21:33a 21:33b 21:33c 21:34-40 21:41a 21:41b 21:42a 21:42b 21:43 [21:44] 21:45, 46a 21:46b 22:1-13a ¹⁴	12:1-12 12:1a 12:1b 12:1c 12:2-9a 12:9b 12:10 12:11 12:12	20:9-19 20:9a 20:9b 20:10-15 20:16a 20:16b 20:17 20:18 20:19			
99. Questions by Jewish rulers	22:14 22:15-40 22:15, 16a 22:16b-22 22:23-28 22:29 22:30 22:31, 32 22:33 22:34 22:35, 36 22:37, 38 ¹⁵ 22:39 22:40 22:41-46 22:41-45 22:46	12:13-34 12:13, 14a 12:14b-17 12:18-23 12:24 12:25 12:26, 27 20:37, 38 12:28a 12:28b 12:29, 30 12:31a 12:31b 12:32-34a 12:34b	20:20-40 20:20a 20:20b 20:21-26 20:27-34a 20:34b, 35a 20:35b, 36a 20:36b 20:39 12:35-37 12:35-37 20:41-44 20:41-44	8:12 13:43 13:50 24:51 25:30		13:28
100. Christ's unanswerable question.....						
101. Woes against the scribes and Pharisees.....	Chap. 23 23:1 23:2, 3 23:4 23:5 23:6, 7a 23:7b-10 23:11 23:12 23:13 23:15-22 23:23 23:24 23:25, 26 23:27 23:28 23:29-31 23:32 23:33 23:34-36 23:37-39	12:38-40 12:38a 12:38b, 39 20:46 12:40	20:45-47 20:45 20:47			
				9:35b 10:43, 44	22:26 9:48b 14:11 18:14b 11:52	
				20:26, 27	11:46b 11:43 11:42 11:39-41 11:44	
				3:7b	3:7b 11:49-51 13:34, 35	

¹⁴ Matt. 22:1-14 is apparently the same parable that is contained in Luke 14:15-24, but an entirely independent version.¹⁵ On Matt. 22:37 ff. cf. Luke 10:27.

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
102. The widow's mite.....						
103. Discourse on last things.....						
Chaps. 24, 25	12:41-44 24:1, 2 24:3a 24:3b 24:4-7 24:8 24:9a 24:14 24:13 24:15-18 24:19 24:20 24:21a 24:21b, 22 24:23 24:24, 25 24:26, 27 24:28 24:29a 24:29b 24:30a 24:30b 24:31 24:32-35 24:36 24:37-39 24:40, 41 24:42 (cf. 25:13)	Chap. 13 13:1-2 13:3 13:4 13:5-8 13:9a 13:9b 13:9c 13:10 13:11 13:12 13:13a 13:13b 13:14-16 13:17 13:18 13:19a 13:19b, 20 13:21 13:22, 23 13:24, 25a 13:25b 13:26 13:27 13:28-31 13:32 13:33, 34 13:35a (cf. 33) 13:35b-37	21:1-4 21:5-38 21:5, 6 21:7 21:8-11 21:12a 21:12b, 13 21:14, 15 21:16 21:17 21:18 21:19 21:20, 21 21:22 21:23a 21:23b 21:24 21:25a 21:25b, 26a 21:26b 21:27 21:28 21:29-33 21:34-36	10:17 10:18 10:19, 20 10:21 10:22a 10:30	.....	12:11, 12 12:7a
104. Conspiracy of the chief priests.....	26:1-5 26:1 26:2a 26:2b 26:3b 26:3a, 4 26:5a 26:5b	14:1, 2 14:1a 14:1b 14:2a 14:2b	22:1, 2 22:1 22:2a 22:2b	8:12 13:42 13:50 22:13b	12:39, 40 12:42-46	13:28
				13:12	4:25	19:12, 13 19:17 19:17 19:20-25 19:26 8:18b
				21:37a 21:37b 21:38	11:11 11:19	

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
105. Anointing in Bethany (Matt.-Mark).....	26:6-13	14:3-9				
106. Plot of Judas and the rulers	26:14-16	14:10, 11	22:3-6			
107. Last supper.....	26:17-35	14:12-31	22:7-38			
	26:17, 18	14:12-14	22:7-11			
		14:15	22:12			
	26:19, 20	14:16, 17	22:13, 14			
			22:15-17			
	26:21	14:18	22:21			
	26:22	14:19	22:23			
	26:23	14:20				
	26:24a	14:21a	22:22			
	26:24b	14:21b				
	26:25					
	26:26	14:22	22:19a			
			22:19b			
	26:27, 28	14:23, 24	22:20			
	26:29	14:25	22:18			
			22:24			
			22:25, 26a	20:25, 26a	10:42, 43a	
			22:26b	{ 20:26b, 27 23:11	{ 10:43b, 44 9:35b	
			22:27a	20:28	10:45	
			22:27b			
			22:28-30a			
			22:30b	19:28b		
	26:30-32	14:26-28				
			22:31, 32			
	26:33, 34	14:29, 30	22:33, 34			
	26:35	14:31				
108. Agony in Gethsemane.....	26:36-46	14:32-42	22:39-46			
	26:36a	14:32a	22:39, 40a			
	26:36b	14:32b				
	26:37, 38	14:33, 34				
	26:39	14:35, 36				
			22:35-38			
	26:40a	14:37a	22:41, 42			
	26:40b	14:37b	22:43, 44			
	26:41	14:38	40b=46b			
	26:42-46	14:40-43				
109. Betrayal and arrest.....	26:47-56	14:43-52	22:47-53			
	26:47a	14:43a	22:47a			
	26:47b, 48	14:43b, 44				
	26:49	14:45	22:47b			
	26:50a		22:48			
	26:50b	14:46				
			22:49			
	26:51	14:47	22:50			
	26:52-54					
	26:55	14:48, 49a	22:51			
	26:56	14:49b, 50	22:52, 53a			
		14:51, 52	22:53b			
110. Trial before Jewish authorities.....	26:57-27:10	14:53-72	22:54-71			
	26:57, 58	14:53, 54	22:54, 55			
	26:59, 60a	14:55, 56a				
		14:56b				
	26:60b, 61	14:57, 58				
		14:59				
	26:62, 63a	14:60, 61a				
	26:63b	14:61b				
			22:66b			
			22:67, 68			
	26:64a	14:62a	22:69			
	26:64b	14:62b				
			22:70			
	26:65a	14:63a				
	26:65b	14:63b, 64a	22:71			
	26:66	14:64b				
	26:67, 68	14:65a	22:63, 64			
		14:65b	22:65			

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—*Continued*

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Trial before Jewish authorities— <i>Continued</i> ...	26:69, 70 26:71a 26:71b-74 26:75 27:1-31 27:1 27:2 27:3-11a 27:11b 27:12-14 27:15, 16 27:17, 18 27:19 27:20-23 27:24, 25 27:26 27:27-31 27:32-56 27:32 27:33 27:34 27:35 27:36 27:37 27:38 27:39, 40 27:41, 42a 27:42b 27:43 27:44 27:45 27:46-49 27:50 27:51a 27:51b-53 27:54 27:55a 27:56 27:55b 27:57-61 27:57a 27:57b 27:58a 27:58b 27:59, 60a 27:60b 27:61 27:62-66	14:66-68a 14:68b 14:68c 14:69-72a 14:72b 15:1-20 15:1a 15:1b 15:2 15:3-5 15:6, 7a 15:7b, 8 15:9, 10 15:11-14 15:15 15:16-20 15:21-41 15:21 15:22 15:23 15:24 15:25 15:26 15:27 15:29, 30 15:31, 32a 15:32b 15:33 15:34 15:35 15:36 15:37 15:38 15:39 15:40a 15:40b 15:41 15:42-47 15:42a 15:42b 15:43a 15:43b 15:44 15:45 15:46a 15:46b 15:47 27:62-66	22:56, 57 22:58-60 22:61a 22:61b, 62 23:1-25 23:1 23:1 23:2 23:3 23:4-16 23:19 23:18, 20-23a 23:23b-25 23:26 23:27-32 23:33a 23:34a 23:34b 23:35a 23:38 23:39b 23:40-43 23:44, 45a 23:46a 23:46b 23:45b 23:47 23:48 23:49a 23:49b 23:50-56 23:50, 51b 23:51a 23:52 23:54 23:50, 51b 23:55 23:56a 23:56b			
111. Trial before Pilate.....						
112. Crucifixion of Jesus.....						
113. Burial of Jesus.....						16:1
114. Watch at the sepulcher..						

PART VI. THE APPEARANCES AFTER THE RESURRECTION

SECTION TITLES	PARALLEL SECTIONS			PARALLEL MATERIAL IN NON-PARALLEL SECTIONS		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
115. Resurrection morning...	28:1-10	16:1-8 [9-11]	24:1-12			
	.....	16:1	.....		
	28:1	16:2	24:1			
	28:2-4					
	.....	16:3				
	.....	16:4	24:2			
	.....		24:3			
	27:5, 6a	16:5	24:4, 5a			
	.....	16:6	24:5b, 6a			
	28:7, 8	16:7, 8	24:6b, 7			
	28:9, 10	[cf. 16:9-11]				
116. Report of the watch...	28:11-15		24:8-12			
117. Walk to Emmaus...	.....	[16:12, 13 ¹⁶]	24:13-35			
118. Appearance in Jerusalem, Thomas being absent	.....	[16:14 ¹]	24:36-43			
119. Appearance to the Eleven in Galilee...	28:16-20					
	28:16-18a	[16:15-18]				
	28:18b	.....			
	28:19a	[16:15]				
	28:19b, 20	.....			
	.....	[16:16-18]				
120. Final appearance and ascension...	.....	[16:19, 20]	24:44-53			
	.....	.....	24:44-50			
	.....	[16:19]	24:51			
	.....	.....	24:52			
	[16:20]				

¹⁶The parallelism in these cases is only of the most general character.

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Symbolo

G-Galilean Doc p 44

M-Matthean Logia p. 44

P-Perean
Doc. p. 43

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

FOR BURTON, PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM

Page 9, line 20. *Omit the before two*

Page 11, line 1. *For and a read also*
line 4. *For would read might*

Page 13, line 13. *For In 1 Luke, etc., read One section (74) consists of material (Luke 13:18-21) found also in Matt. and Mark in a differently located threefold section.*

Page 15, line 22. *For 13:21-23 read 13:20-23*
line 27. *For 9:38-41 read 9:38-40*

Page 24, line 8. *For Mark read Matt.*

Page 33, line 12 from bottom. *Insert each before chosen*

Page 34, line 13. *For Mark read that which Mark did subsequently take up*
line 26. *Insert comma before and after non-extant*

Page 39, line 5. *For over the cities of Judea read through the cities of Israel,*
line 9. *For (1, 10-14) read (Matt. 10:1, 10-14)*
line 26. *Insert one of them before in the parallel passage*
line 2 from bottom. *For he read Mark*
last line. *For 53 read 51-53*

Page 40, lines 10, 11. *Read vss. 12-14 are paralleled in Luke's Perean section, though they vary sufficiently etc.*
line 13. *Insert 4, before 10, 15-35*
line 2 from bottom. *For 5:4 read 5:5*

Page 41, line 9. *For 34 read 34 a, 36, 37*
line 15. *For 5:4 read 5:5*
line 17. *For 34 read 34 a*

Footnote 20. *For Luke 19:1-27 read Luke 19:11-27*

Page 43, line 11 from bottom. *Omit 19*
line 10 from bottom. *Read 7:11-17*

Page 44, line 10. *For two read three (rejection at Nazareth, Luke 4:16-30; call of the four, 5:1-11; anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon, 7:36-50)*
lines 16-20. *Read: Thus in addition to the three instances already named (call of the four, rejection at Nazareth, and anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon—cf. p. 43) it is to be observed that Luke, relating in 22:24-27 Jesus' rebuke of the ambition of the disciples, omits the partly similar account which Mark has in 10:35-45; giving etc.*
line 28. *Read the first two cases, the call of the four, and the rejection at Nazareth*
lines 3 and 2 from bottom. *For three read four*

Page 45, line 1. *After Galilean add ; the fourth Luke places in the Perean period, Mark in the Passion week.*
line 2. *For this event read the third of these events*
line 12 from bottom. *For 8:14 read 8:15*

Page 47, line 18. *Omit 12-15,*
line 19. *For 33-37 read 34 a, 36, 37 After 16:17-19; add 17:24-27;*
line 20. *After 22:1-14 add; 26:52, 53. For eighteen read nineteen*
line 24. *For nine read ten*
line 9 from bottom. *For 17:6 read 17:6 a*
line 6 from bottom. *After 28:11 add; the appearance of Jesus on a mountain in Galilee, 28:16-20, which, however, may be based in part on Mark in its original form.*
line 4 from bottom. *For 9:35-37 read 9:35, 36*

Page 48, line 2. *For 9:35-37 read 9:35, 36*
line 14 from bottom. *For 22:66, 67 read 22:66-68*

Page 49, line 6. *For 5:4 read 5:5*
line 8. *Omit 15*
line 9. *After 8 b, add 16 b*
line 22. *For 2, 3, read 3, 4,*

Page 51, line 16. *For they read G and M*

Page 55, line 9. *For passage read material*

Page 59, line 2. *Drop Luke 7:11-17 one line.*

Page 63, § 64, first Matthew column. *For 19:1 read 19:1, 2 and for 19:1 read 19:1, 2*

Page 64, § 70. *For (Luke) 11:27, 28 a read 11:27, 28*

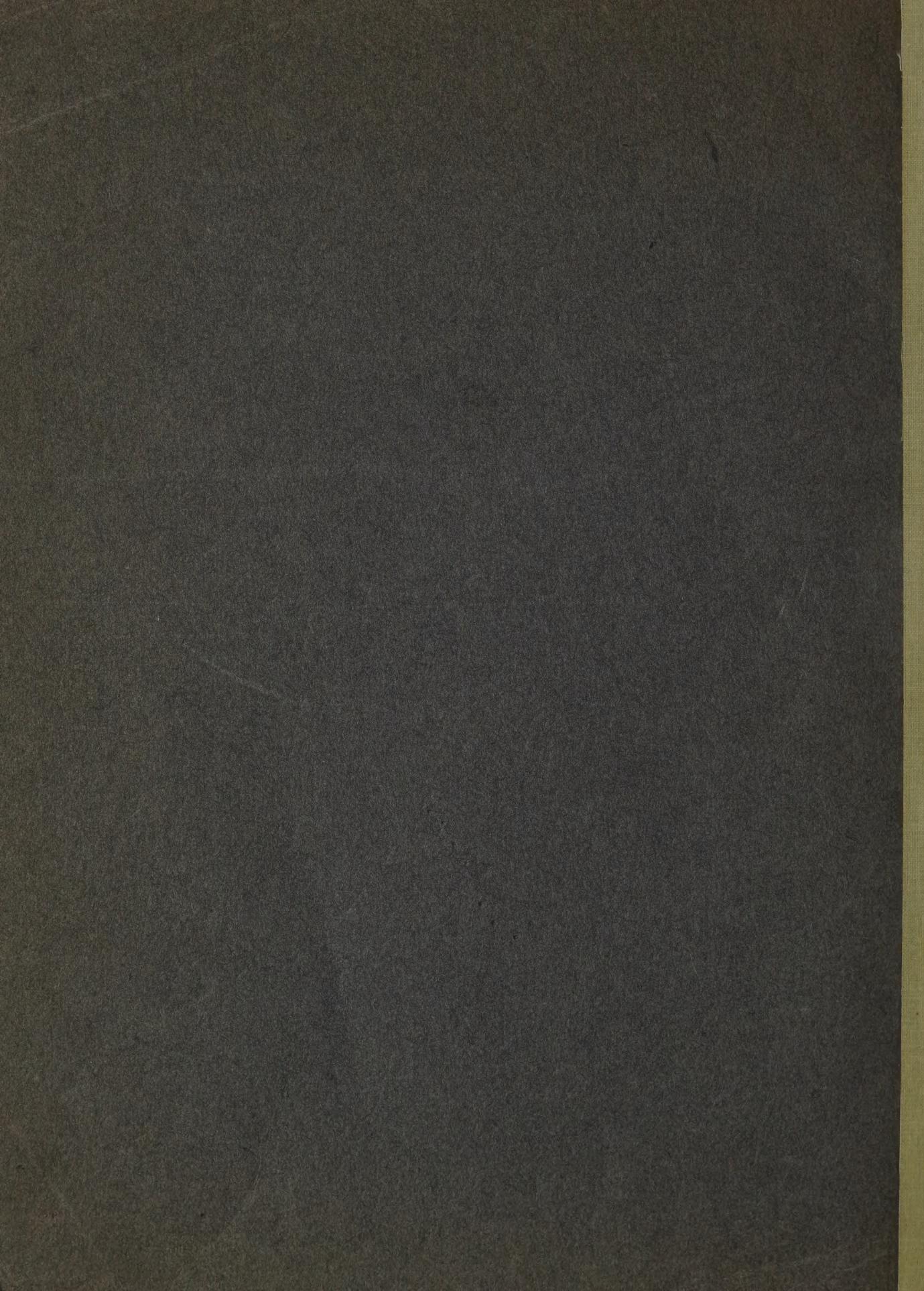
Page 65, § 78. *Raise (Mark) 9:50 b (not c) to the line of Matt. 5:13 b*

Page 72, § 119. *Raise (Mark) [16:15-18] one line.*

51 errors etc, plus 1 on p 41. (line 2 from bottom). To many on 23 pages - ~72. Also p 50, line 4 from bottom

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